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TAMATAVE.

(*From a Sketch by Mr. Shaw.*)

MADAGASCAR AND FRANCE

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE ISLAND, ITS PEOPLE, ITS RESOURCES

AND DEVELOPMENT.

83598

BY

GEORGE A. SHAW, F.Z.S.

LONDON MISSION, TAMATAVE.

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL SKETCHES AND PHOTOGRAPHS AND A MAP.

W-C-50

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY,

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PREFACE.

For the past two years the English popular feeling has been more or less aroused by the accounts which have from time to time been brought to this country, relative to French aggression in the island of Madagascar. A great deal of indignation was expressed on the receipt of the first news of the high-handed action of the civilised nation towards the comparatively weak, but singularly interesting people: and that feeling, though dormant, strongly tinges the deep sense of sorrow and pity felt in this country for those who a few years ago were heathen barbarians, but who have so quickly struggled through the dense cloud of superstition oppressing them into the true light of Christian civilisation. These mixed feelings are flavoured with no inconsiderable amount of surprise and astonishment, both at the lame and paltry claims put forward by France to justify the present course of action, and at the apparent indifference of the French people to comprehend them.

Meanwhile it is found, on inquiry, that really nothing has been done during these two years to ultimately settle the question. Mission work has been upset, trade has been stopped or hindered, neutral merchants have been ruined, property has been destroyed, money squandered and lives lost, and yet no advance has been

made towards peace. The conduct of the Malagasy, however, must have excited the strongest admiration in the minds of all who have followed the history of recent events. They have shown themselves determined patriots, clear-headed politicians, good soldiers, and conscientious Christians. In their dogged determination to resist to the last, and their indifference to the hardships of the campaign, in their watchfulness in the trenches, and bravery in meeting death, they have called forth the encomium even of those who have seen active service in other parts of the world; while their practical Christianity and faithfulness under the trying dispensation of Providence, have completely silenced those detractors who prophesied that at the first breath of calamity the Malagasy Christians would revert to their ancient idolatry and superstition.

At the same time the Government has retained its hold on all the tribes, making its arm felt in quelling rebellion and enforcing the laws of the country in the extreme points of its dominion.

Reports from the scene of action are, as might be expected, very contradictory. On the one side we hear of French reconnaissances, in which the enemy have been routed with great loss, with only a trifling casualty on the part of the invaders; while from the other camp we hear that again and again the attacking party has been repulsed with heavy losses, the injury suffered by the Malagasy being insignificant.

While there has apparently been no successful endeavour made to present the facts to the French people, their ears have been continually regaled with reminders of the "ancient rights of France in Madagascar." What these "rights" were was never very

definitely stated till July last, when, in a report of the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, on the bill for granting extraordinary expenses connected with the expedition to Madagascar, it was asserted, on page 2, that "since 1642, the date at which Richelieu granted to the naval captain Rigault the concession for ten years, of the island of Madagascar and the adjacent islands, France has never ceased to claim possession of Madagascar, and that the claim has never been disputed by any European power."

An endeavour is made in the following pages, not only to set forth a true historical sketch of the connection of France with Madagascar from the earliest times to the present, by which it will be seen how little claim the former has to the island or to the sympathies of its inhabitants, but also to answer various questions which are arising in the minds of many, with regard to the country—its products and adaptability for foreign enterprise and commerce; and its people, their character, habits, employments, and advance in civilisation and Christianity.

My connection, as a missionary of the London Missionary Society, with Madagascar, for nearly fourteen years, has enabled me to see and fully appreciate the huge leaps which have been made by these people in the scale of Christian civilisation, and I have endeavoured to give in the following pages an impartial statement. If an undue leaning towards the Malagasy does occasionally exhibit itself, it must be placed to the account of the love which one is sure to acquire for those for whom one has been called upon to labour, and especially if that labour has not been all pleasant.

A MALAGASY BEGGAR.

(From a Photograph by Mr. A. Kingdon.)

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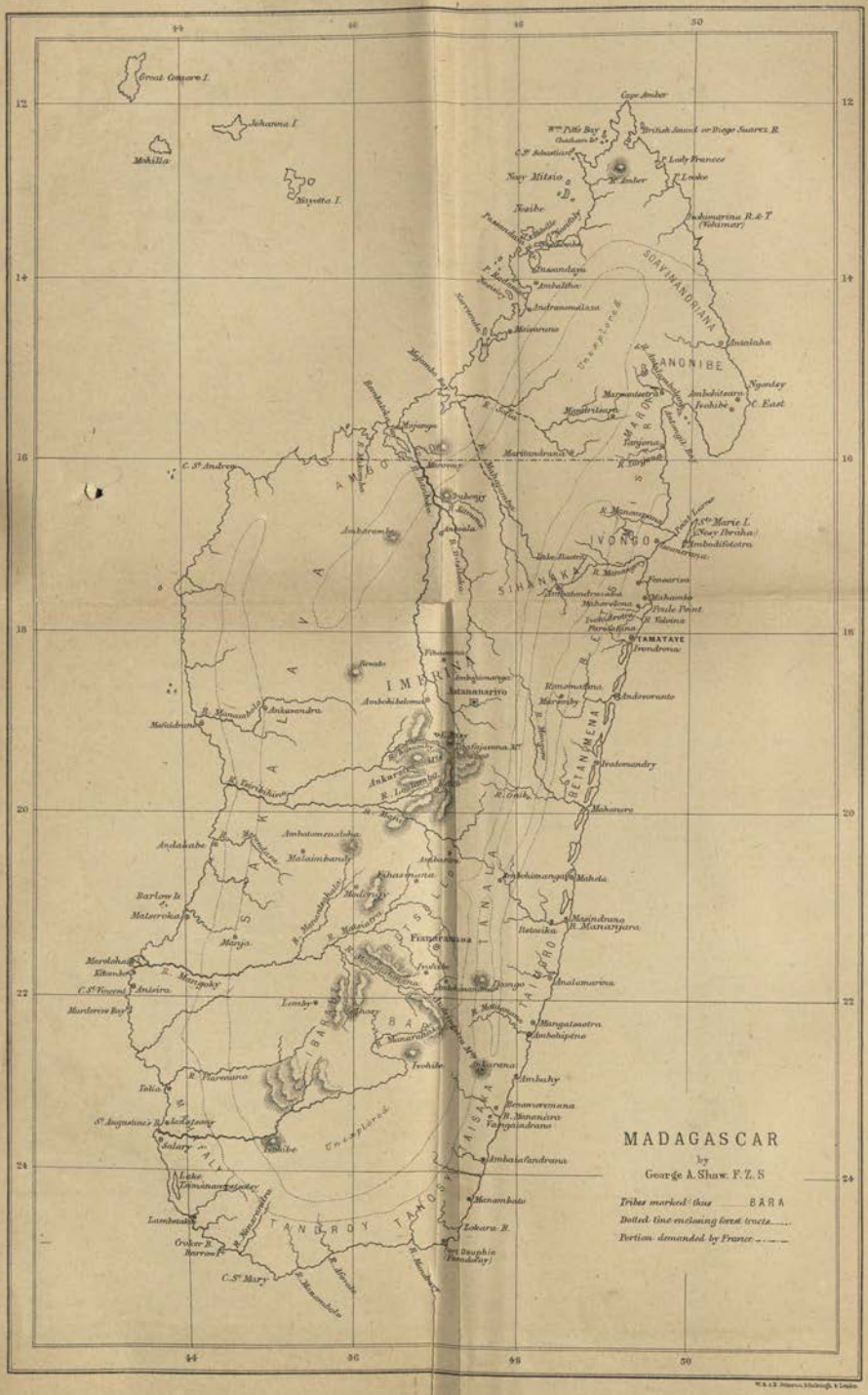

MADAGASCAR
by
George A. Shaw. F.Z.S
Tribes marked thus BARA
Dotted line enclosing forest tracts
Portion demanded by France
Great Comoro I.
Johanna I.
Mohilla
Mayotta I.
Cape Amber
British Island or Diego Suarez B.
Lady Frances
Nosy Mitsio
Tsaratanana
Soavimandriana
Andrangoloaka
Andrakaraka
Ambaditsara
Ngonley
C. East
Vonizongo
Ste Marie I.
Nosy Ibraka
Imbodotsetra
Tamatave
Foulpoint
Ivondrona
Andevorante
Imerina
Betsileo
Betanimena
Antananarivo
Ambohimanga
Mahela
Fianarantsoa
Ambositra
Fisherman's Rock
Andrahibe
Analamarina
Mangatsiatra
Imbahy
Imahazafindrana
Menambolo
Tanala
Tanalana
Betsimisaraka
Antaimoro
Antaisaka
Antanosy
Tanosy
Ivohibe
Ankaratra
Ambohimirahavavy
Ambohitsmoro
Ambohimahasoa
Ambohimanambola
Ambohimanjaka
Ambohipotsy
Ambohibeloma
Ambohidratrimo
Ambohitrambo
Ambohidrabiby
Ambohimalaza
Ambohitrony
Ambohimiadana
Ambohitsilaozana
Ambohitsilaozana
Ambohitsilaoz

MADAGASCAR AND FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND.

The East Coast Tribe—The Betsimisaraka—Intermixture of Tribes—Lagoons, advantage for inter-communication—No river mouths—Harbours—Tamatave—Andovoranto—Ivondrona—Harbours north of Tamatave—Rivers, as a means of internal communication—Canoes for the river navigation—for sea-going purposes—The towns—Fort at Tamatave—The Hova soldiers' quarters—Houses—Fires—No public works—The soil—The land question as affecting the foreign capitalist.

MADAGASCAR, one of the largest islands in the world, being about 970 miles long by 300 wide, consists physically of three zones. Around the coast is a low-lying comparatively flat tract, extending some 30 or 40 miles inland on the east, but somewhat more extensive on the south and west. Inland of this is a zone of forest land, covering the mountainous sides of the central table-land, and varying in width from a few miles on the west, to 40 or 50 miles in its broadest part on the north-east. This belt is also not quite continuous on the western side of the island, but is broken into patches with open country between.

Above and beyond the forest region is a mountainous plateau, at a height of 3,000 or 4,000 feet above the

level of the sea, bearing upon its surface mountains rising 4,000 or 5,000 feet higher, formed into chains running from north to south and composed chiefly of granite, gneiss and quartz imbedded in a hard red soil very much resembling clay. Generally speaking the appearance of this table-land is desolate; few trees are seen, and except round the centres of population where there is cultivation, and in the kloofs between the mountains, the country is bare or only covered with a rough brown grass. "There is, however, an element of grandeur in the landscape, from the great extent of country visible from many points in the clear pure atmosphere, which renders very distant objects wonderfully sharp and distinct."[1]

Politically, there are 22 tribes and provincial divisions in the island, each formerly governed by its own chiefs, but now, in a greater or lesser degree, acknowledging the supremacy of the Hovas.[2]

With perhaps the exception of the Sakalava on the west coast of Madagascar, the Betsimisaraka occupy the largest extent of the coast line of this great island. On the eastern side from about the 14th to the 20th degree of south latitude, the entire seaboard was under the authority of this tribe, before the time of their conquest by the Hovas. The western boundary is not so easily determined, and in the complete absence of all written history, tradition is of little value, especially in marking the boundary between tribes so nearly related, and at the same time subdivided into so many chieftaincies, as the Betsimisaraka, the Tanala, Taimoro, &c.

[1] *Great African Island*, by the Rev. J. Sibree, p. 23.

[2] The tribe living in the central province of the island, called Imerina, in which is the capital Antananarivo.

Besides this, portions of one tribe have insinuated themselves into the territory of their neighbours, and have been allowed to select an unoccupied spot and build a town or village quite in the heart of another province. Such is Tetezamalama, about five miles west of Tamatave, the people of which belong to a tribe south of the Betsimisaraka, and a hundred miles distant from the town. Ivatomandry, a port in the south, is inhabited by people from two tribes. I think, however, it is correct to say that, roughly speaking, the western boundary of the Betsimisaraka is the forest on the slopes of the hills rising to the central table-land of the island. Admitting this to be so, the Betsimisaraka country would have a length of 360, and an average breadth of 25 or 30 miles.

Nearly the whole of this territory is a flat, well-watered, and highly fertile country; the luxuriant highly tropical vegetation offering a striking contrast to the more sterile and rocky plateau of the central provinces. The most remarkable physical feature of the district is the succession of large fresh-water lagoons, which extend for one or two hundred miles along the coast, separated from the sea in some instances by a very narrow strip of sand. Here and there the sand is broken away towards the sea, forming an outlet for the rivers which supply these lagoons, but too shallow to be of any commercial utility. Generally speaking but a small tract of land separates one lagoon from the next, and I imagine that a comparatively trifling outlay, with some engineering skill, would suffice to connect these lakes by navigable canals. Thus would be formed a continuous, safe, and convenient means of communication between some of the chief ports on the east

coast, which are now with difficulty reached from the sea, and the transport between which over-land is expensive, irregular, and unreliable. The lakes on the whole are fairly deep, and barges of light draught could at all seasons of the year pass from end to end in perfect safety, although the sea at the same time might be rough and even impracticable for the ordinary coasting schooners. If this work is ever accomplished, it will be done by foreign enterprise and money, for it is not the policy of the native Government to make the internal communications of the island any better for the foreign merchant.

Although the district is well watered by broad fine-looking rivers, not one of them is navigable from the sea. Every opening on the east coast, south of, but not including Tamatave, is blocked with sand, which forms an impassable barrier for any vessels except whale boats, decked, and used as lighters, and built sufficiently strong to be uninjured by the inevitable bumping on the bar which they are sure to experience.

Tamatave harbour is protected from this great drawback by a long reef which joins the shore on the south, and stretches away towards the north for three or four miles, having a deep, though narrow opening in the centre, opposite to which the town is built. Some efforts have been made to cut an entrance through the bar at Andovoranto, by means of which small craft might enter the river, and find good and safe anchorage; but up to the present time no great progress has been made. Could a permanent entrance of sufficient depth be formed, and kept clear, a first-class harbour would be found inside, and merchandise could be transported by boats or canoes up the river, as far as Maromby,

thus saving nearly one third of the distance to the capital.

Very much the same may be said for the bar and river of Ivondrona, on the banks of which are two or three sugar-making establishments,—the largest in the island,—the great desideratum of these being an easy and cheap transport from Ivondrona to Tamatave or Mauritius. The sugar from these mills can be carried by water at very little expense to Ivondrona, at the mouth of the river; but there all water communication ceases, from the causes already mentioned; and the bags of sugar have to be carried on men's shoulders, a process both expensive and slow. A few bullock carts are used, but the want of any pretence of a road renders this course only a slight improvement upon the system of bearers.

To the north of Tamatave are two or three harbours not suffering from the drawback mentioned, but they are only small; and the trade has been diverted to Tamatave for all vessels of any considerable size. Hence the towns situated near, are but insignificant commercially. Among these are Fenoarivo and Mahambo, both of which have harbours that are formed by projecting rocks, but are intricate and in no small measure dangerous. It is said, however, that soon after the Hova conquest the latter town surpassed Tamatave in the number of shipping that visited it. Probably these two ports being the nearest to the Sihanaka country north of the capital on the table-land, and which has always been the great source of the supply of bullocks to this coast, increased their importance, even if it is not true to say it was the cause of their existence as ports.

Schooners anchor off Antsiraka (Point Laree), the port for Isoanerana (Ivongo), as under the lee of the French island of St. Mary a considerable shelter is found from the prevailing south-east winds. But this is a port of no great importance. The same may be said of Mananara (Manahar), the port for Isoavinarivo, where schooners can anchor under cover of the point. In both these places the cargo has to be landed through the surf, which fortunately is not very great in either place.

At Maroantsetra, vessels of large size can anchor, but the harbour is rendered insecure from the heavy squalls which so frequently visit it. These are caused doubtless by the height of the land on the eastern side, down the mountain slopes of which the wind rushes with considerable violence, even in the winter months, when in other parts along the coast there is a steady south-east trade wind.

At Ngontsy and Sambava the same obstacles are found as render the more southern ports places of difficulty and danger for those engaged in landing and loading cargo; and the rivers in the north-east are just as valueless as a means of communication with the sea as those already referred to at Ivondrona and Andovoranto.

But as a means of internal communication, the natives are alive to the importance of their rivers, and a considerable amount of traffic daily passes up and down them. Foreigners also have not been slow to appreciate the advantages of establishing their plantations, &c., on the banks of the really fine rivers with which the province abounds. The communication is carried on almost entirely by canoes formed by

hollowing out large trees, and bending them into convenient shape by means of thongs and stakes, and firing the inside, to cause them to retain the shape thus temporarily given. No outrigger is used, and no keel is attached, yet notwithstanding the crazy nature of these craft and their unsteadiness on the water, very few accidents occur in proportion to the number of persons daily employing them. Several seats, according to the length of the canoe, are placed across at intervals, on which the voyagers sit as they propel the canoe forward by means of paddles shaped like a spade; a longer one of the same shape being used to steer with. In crossing the mouths of some of the larger rivers oars are used, but they are not common. The canoes for use in the harbours and in Antongil Bay are sometimes fitted with a false keel, and the sides are supplemented by one or two planks, nailed to ribs fixed inside the hollowed tree, thus rendering them more serviceable and safe on the rougher water of the sea. In these, oars are used, with a long steering oar. Sails, also, are often employed, under which, considering the rough-and-ready style of making the hull, they behave very well.

On the north-west and west coasts the natives put an outrigger on their canoes, and are far better navigators than those on the east coast. In the south-east the people build boats by tying the planks together, using the thwarts as ribs, and filling the holes made for the entrance of the thongs with wooden pegs. In Antongil Bay I found a native engaged in boat-building. With several men who had been taught by a foreigner, he had already built several schooners for the coasting trade, and at the time of my visit had another in

process of construction. These were made of native wood, cut in the adjacent forest, and appeared to be good, and really well-built vessels.

Most of the towns occupied by the Hovas are more or less fortified, and, as far as the character of the ground will allow, are built upon the most elevated spots. These have doubtless been chosen not only because they are more easily defended, but because, from their height above the marshes, they are less subject to malaria, from which arises the fever that proves so deadly to the Hovas who have lived only in the more temperate climate of the central plateau. In some parts along the coast, however, this selection has proved, from the nature of the ground, altogether impossible; while in others the Hova town and fortress are some miles from the port and custom-house, which presumably they were destined to defend.

Their defences consist of rough and very inferior imitations of the fort at Tamatave, which, if properly mounted and garrisoned, would prove a powerful defence. It consists of a circular wall of coral and lime, about 18 or 20 feet thick at the base. The upper part is hollow, forming a gallery throughout its entire length, with here and there embrasures for cannon. Stone steps on the inner side lead downwards to the interior courtyard, and upwards to the top of the wall, which is protected on the outer side by a parapet breast high. The wall, which is about 20 feet high, encloses a courtyard 50 or 60 yards in diameter. This is entered by two crooked entrances, closed by three wooden doors in each. In the central enclosure stands the magazine and residences of the governor and his family. Outside the stone wall is an earthwork

15 feet in height, and separated by about 10 feet from the stone wall, thus forming a kind of fosse between. Large gateways, corresponding to the outer gateways in the stone wall, afford the means of entrance and exit. The fort and earthwork were both defended by cannon mounted on wooden carriages or on wooden pivots. But not only were the cannon old and probably useless, but the soldiers who were expected to defend the place never had any more practice than was obtained from the firing of salutes. Even then it was no uncommon occurrence for the pieces to rebound out of their high stands, requiring the labour of a number of men to replace them before the salute could be continued.

Other forts along the coast were much worse off than this, and in one I have even seen a wooden cannon mounted in all solemnity in company with its almost equally useless companions, whose serious work was completed 70 or 80 years ago. Other so-called forts consist of stockades in imitation of that around the palace in Antananarivo, consisting of spiked poles and defended by, at the most, one or two field-guns. Of this character are the Hova stations at Maroantsetra, Ivongo, Mahanoro, Ivatomandry and Mananjara; while at Fenoarivo and Mahambo, attempts have been made to imitate that at Tamatave, which is said to have been built by Portuguese.

Soldiers who have been drafted for the defence of these places are Hovas, whose duty has been considered their share of the enforced Government service to which all the Malagasy are subject. Their houses are enclosed within a stockade similar to that described above, and none but soldiers are allowed to build or

live within that enclosure. So that every Hova town on the coast is divided into three parts: the fort or *rova*, in which none but the governor and his family live; the soldiers' division, near to or surrounding the *rova;* and the civilians' town, on the outskirts.

The best of the houses are built of wood, but the majority of bamboo, split and plaited, or of rushes dried and kept in their place by means of two or three long pieces of split bamboo driven through each. Nearly all are thatched with the leaves of the travellers' tree. In fact, this tree in some places supplies all that is necessary for the house building, except a few poles made of the midrib of the rofia palm leaves. A fireplace is obtained by filling a case of wood with sand, on which the trivets are placed for supporting the cooking pots. With such flimsy materials it is matter for surprise that so few fires occur in Malagasy towns on the coast; but when one does break out, it is seldom extinguished until the whole town is reduced to ruins; each man only caring to secure his few domestic utensils, and as much wood from the burning mass as he can successfully rescue. It is only in towns where a sufficiently strong European community exists, that any houses are pulled down for the purpose of saving those beyond them.

In fact, the want of public spirit, the working for the public good, has been one of the obstacles to advancement in Madagascar: very little is done simply because it may benefit the community at large. Hence one finds no public works in the country, no roads or bridges, no drainage or system of irrigation: each man is expected to make what canals are necessary for his own plantations. No accommodation is found for travellers on the roads, although it has been repre-

sented that houses (*lapa*) are built in the villages between Tamatave and the capital for this purpose. But closer enquiry would have shown that no such public spirit actuated the authorities who caused their construction; for they have been built for the sole purpose of giving shelter to the goods of the Queen and Prime Minister, while being carried up from the port to the capital. They are certainly often very useful to travellers, but this was not taken into consideration in the least as a reason for their construction.

The soil of the district consists of a sandy belt three or four miles in breadth, bordering upon the sea, and beyond this an alluvial deposit most productive, as is proved by the rich and luxuriant vegetation. The capabilities of the country between the lagoons and the forest have not been sufficiently tested to warrant any general statement. But, judging by the rapid growth of certain kinds of produce, one is compelled to acknowledge the great productiveness of the soil and climate. All vegetation requiring a rich mould and a damp hot atmosphere luxuriates in the Betsimisaraka country; but only a few products have received much attention from foreigners, probably owing to the difficulty of obtaining land on sufficiently long leases to warrant the outlay required when first establishing a plantation. Now, that difficulty is, to a great extent, if not entirely, removed, as is shown in Chapter IV.; and the subject of the capability of the country for rendering a good return for the labour of the planter, will become one of increasing interest, as soon as the political horizon is clear. Whichever way events shape themselves, there is little doubt that the country will be opened up much more rapidly than in the past. If the

French secure the coast, or any considerable part of it, they will in their own interests render every facility to capitalists who may feel disposed to embark their capital in plantations or commerce. And there have not been wanting indications of the fact that the most intelligent among the upper classes of the natives have begun to realise that their greatest security is not to be obtained by the closing of their country to foreign enterprise, but by giving every encouragement to merchants and planters to come there and settle. There has been also a rumour of a projected Government railway from the coast to the capital.

Formerly those in authority looked with a jealous eye upon any attempt to facilitate communication between the capital and the coasts. No suggestion for the formation of a railway or tramway, though several times made by English firms, was ever entertained by the native Government. A constant dread of the effects of the influx of a large number of foreigners on native politics has always been apparent in the treaties made with other nations; and there is no doubt that the law prohibiting mining and prospecting for gold or diamonds has been framed from the same cause. A very indistinct idea of the advantages arising from increased trade and commerce was all that exhibited itself to the mind of the Government. In fact, the question with those in authority seemed rather to be, How can foreigners be deterred from the desire to develop the resources of the country, and so attract the attention of the rapacious? This accounts in a great measure for the absence of roads other than tracks worn by the bare feet of the porters. It makes us feel, too, that we ought not to have been surprised at the

answer sent by the Prime Minister to some Creole traders in Tamatave, who asked him to facilitate the cutting of a canal between the lagoons from thence to Andovoranto. After hearing their account of the advantages to be derived from the formation of this cutting, he said that it appeared to be for their emolument only, and so if they wanted a canal they must make it themselves.

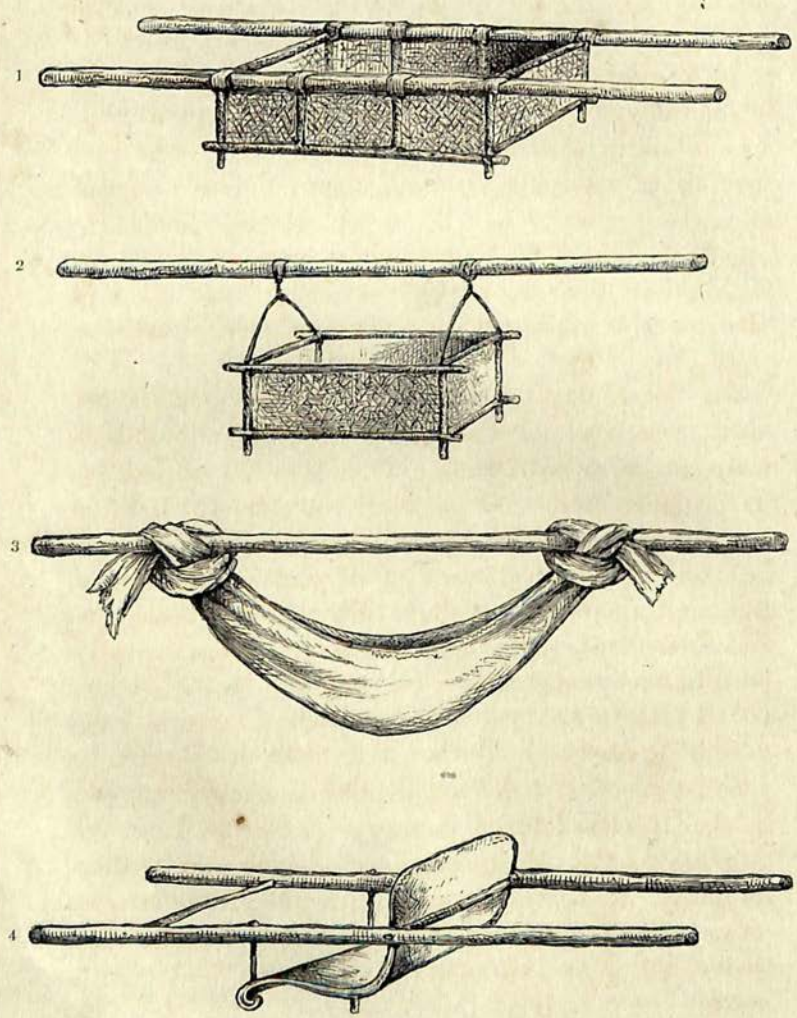
CHAPTER II.

MALAGASY CIVILISATION.

No roads—Mode of Travelling—Bearers—Crossing the rivers—Resting-places for traveller and bearers—Coinage—Barter—The food supply—Native beverages—The water supply—Manufactures—Spinning, iron smelting, forging and casting—Straw plaiting—Native pottery—Jewellery of gold and silver—Cabinet making—Carving introduced among the Hovas, but indigenous in other tribes—Musical instruments—Bamboo drums—Pieces of iron as musical instruments—Skin drums—Fifes or flutes—Lyres—The *valiha*—Government bands.

As there are no roads or railways, the traveller must content himself with the only kind of native conveyance found in the country—the palanquin. But do not imagine by the name that anything like the luxurious arrangement used in India will be forthcoming for your comfort and convenience. A much rougher apparatus, and one better suited to the exigencies of the uneven and broken country, consisting of a couple of poles kept in position by two iron rods, and supporting a leathern seat a few inches below the level of the poles, must suffice for the most fastidious traveller in Madagascar.

Having given our cook notice the previous day that we intend to start on a few days' journey in the morning, he puts together into native baskets such utensils as he will require for cooking, and a stock of provisions which cannot be purchased from the natives



PALANQUINS.

1, For a Lady; 2, For a Child; 3, For a Poor Man; 4, For a Gentleman.

(*From a Sketch by Mr. Shaw.*)

in the villages through which we pass. A stretcher and bedding are wrapped in waterproof canvas, some clothes, books, and medicines are stowed away in small tin boxes, and our preparations are complete. Early on the morning of our proposed departure we shall find our yard filled with men all apparently most eager to carry either our baggage or ourselves; and, as we have taken the precaution to tell our cook the agreement we propose making with them for the journey, we might be pardoned the delusion of believing that all was settled, and a start can be effected as soon as we are ready.

But the Malagasy bearer is a curious creature, of whom you can never be certain until you actually have him away with you. Probably when all is tied on the poles ready for starting, and sometimes after the baggage has started, the palanquin bearers will ask, with the most perfect show of innocence, what wages they are to receive, as though they had not been bargaining an hour or two the previous day, and professedly come to an arrangement. This generally means trouble, and the traveller may think himself favoured if he is able to leave at all that day. But if all can be satisfactorily adjusted, the palanquin is shouldered, and at the average rate of about four miles an hour the bearers convey their passenger along the sandy trackway, up the steep mountain side, through the rivers, and across the rice plains, very rarely missing their footing or endangering their passenger or his baggage.

The rivers are crossed, when too deep to ford, by very roughly made bridges, consisting generally of a single plank, or log not always level, but slanting dangerously

to one side or warped by the sun into all kinds of angles. Without handrail or support below to prevent the vibration of the long plank, the nerves of the newly arrived foreigner are often terribly tried while making the passage from one bank to the other of a stream roaring over the rocks and boulders ten or twenty feet below. In the forest it is no uncommon thing to find a bridge made by simply felling a large tree on one bank and allowing it to fall across the stream. A few of the inconvenient branches are cut away, and until it rots the native bearer has all he cares for in the way of viaduct.

The marshes and bogs are crossed by branches and rushes being laid on the surface, and renewed from time to time according to the wants of the individual traveller or band of bearers. If a village or town is adjacent to a marsh, an attempt is made at supporting a rough bridge upon piles driven into the peat and mud in pairs, and joined together by a cross pole, at right angles to the direction of the bridge. Upon these the planks to form the pathway are laid. As the ends do not necessarily overlap, it is no uncommon thing to see a careless bearer tread on a free end, and be aroused to proper caution by finding himself in the water and mud below. This was the character of the bridge at Tetezamalama, destroyed by the Hovas when they entrenched themselves on the west side of the wide marsh at Farafatana.

The wider rivers, and rivers with very low banks, and far from the forest, are crossed by ferries. These consist generally of the canoes already described, larger or smaller according to the danger involved in crossing; although I have found that at some difficult

and dangerous river-mouths only very small and miserable craft have been forthcoming to ferry the traveller and his bearers across. At sunset, on one occasion, my party, consisting of myself and ten natives, reached a beautiful broad river, called Onibe or Onive (north of Mananara), on the opposite bank of which is a small village where we proposed to sleep. After standing and shouting lustily all together for some time, varying the monotony by occasional discharges from the gun, we succeeded in making the people on the other side hear, and we were glad to see them coming across in a canoe to paddle us over. When it arrived, we found it to be only a small cranky craft that would at best carry but three: so we had to divide, and it was an hour before the last man with his load was safely ferried over.

At unfrequented places, I have had the pleasure of crossing in a canoe with the end broken off, when the only means of keeping afloat was for all to sit at the opposite end, so as to give sufficient tilt to the canoe to keep the broken end well above the surface of the water. With such ferry boats it is no wonder that one occasionally gets an impromptu bath—rendered no more pleasant by the knowledge that the rivers swarm with crocodiles.

In other places I have had to cross on rafts, called *zahitra* by the people. These are simply a collection of the largest bamboos that can be obtained in the neighbourhood, lashed together at one end to a pair of cross-pieces of bamboo, thus forming a kind of bow, while the stern is often as broad as the raft is long. This is not a *dry* method of crossing, although perfectly safe, as the top row of the bamboos is frequently below

the surface of the river. These are punted over by men using long poles of bamboo. Occasionally rafts are made of rushes, the *zozoro* or papyrus, and this is said to have been the most ancient method of crossing the rivers.

However, all the means of river crossing seem equally hazardous to the traveller, and for the Malagasy give point to one of their proverbs:—"The old woman crossing the river; it's 'God grant what's for my good, whether I am upset or get safely over'—a touching picture of human helplessness." [1]

Arrived at the village in which the traveller proposes to rest, or sleep, there is very little difficulty about accommodation. Any one having a house that appears at all suitable (and often there is very little choice) will resign possession for the night, clearing out all the furniture it may contain, and seeking a corner in a neighbour's house, in the hope of a small piece of money in the morning or when the stranger resumes his journey. The housing of his bearers need never trouble the traveller, as by a kind of freemasonry, and perhaps the hope of a budget of news, every door is open to the entrance of a bearer, and a hearty welcome waits him round the fire. He uses the cooking pots, spoons and plates of the owner, makes himself comfortable for the night in a dry and warm corner, after having borrowed a mat to sleep on, but never dreams of paying anything for accommodation.

Payments are made in Madagascar generally in money, though I have found some tribes still using the primitive method of barter. The only coin at present recognised as currency is the dollar either of France

[1] Rev. J. Houlder. *Antananarivo Annual*, No. v., p. 62.

(the 5-franc piece in silver), of Germany, Holland, Italy, Russia or Spain. For smaller payments than four shillings these coins are broken up and weighed. They are cut into all sizes and shapes, having no distinctive value attached to each piece, and the worth is only ascertained by careful weighing. For this purpose everyone carries a pair of native scales and weights. These are made with so great exactitude that the variation of the 720th part of a dollar can be detected. Buying is a tedious process, rendered more so by the fact that a single weighing is seldom accepted by the native, who almost invariably puts the money first in one pan of the scales and then into the other, to be quite certain that the balance is perfectly true. But such a cumbersome method, reminding us of the time when Abraham weighed his pieces of silver, must disappear before the onrush of civilisation and commerce. At least one offer has already been made to the Prime Minister by an English firm to supply the country with a coinage of its own. But before this can be accomplished many conservative prejudices have to be overcome, and the suspicious distrust of the people to be surmounted. After having been accustomed to weigh every piece of silver, and to reject every smooth dollar, it will not be easy to induce these people to accept coins of a nominal value only; more especially as with them time is not an article of very great value, and haggling a long while over the just balancing of a pennyworth of silver is a daily amusement.

The food supply of the coast tribes is abundant, cheap, and of good quality. The staple commodity is rice, which is usually boiled in water, in native

earthenware or iron pots, and eaten with beef, poultry, or native vegetables, of which there are several kinds wholesome and good. These people have few if any distinctively native dishes, and in this way differ considerably from the islanders of the Pacific. The beef or poultry is almost invariably stewed or boiled, and although some of the better classes occasionally present the stranger with a roasted fowl, there is every reason to believe that this style of cooking is not native. Fish is sometimes broiled on the embers or on a roughly made gridiron held over the fire; but the sweet potatoes, manioc, yams and arum are boiled, the latter in banana leaves, to extract the acid principle, so injurious if taken into the system. Maize, beans, millet, earth-nuts, pistachios, pumpkins, tomatoes, are also usually boiled by the natives and eaten with their rice. Salt, obtained from the sea and from one or two aquatic plants, chillies and ginger are also universally used. The bread-fruit, and the cassava made into arrowroot, although tolerably abundant on the west coast, are comparatively scarce in the east, and cannot be looked upon as an article of native diet.

In the central provinces, upon the cooler soil of the table-land, potatoes and other vegetables common on European tables are cultivated and are relished by the people. Here also sheep are successfully reared. These are of a hairy breed, with large fat tails (considered the most delicate portion for eating), and partaking very much of the character of the goat. Its flesh is somewhat coarse and hard, altogether lacking the flavour of English mutton.

The principal native beverage is rice water, made by boiling some water in the rice pot from which the

unburnt portion of the cooked rice has been taken ; and that part which is burnt and that adheres to the sides is allowed to remain. This is drunk hot and without any addition of sugar or salt. A very great number of the people drink coffee, which they grow and roast for themselves, and generally sweeten with syrup, sugar, or sugar-cane juice. In some parts of the country a tea is made either from the imported Indian or China leaf, or from the leaves of certain plants growing in the country. The latter is to European taste anything but palatable. The water in the interior of the country is, generally speaking, good, although in some districts many tasteless, hard and lime impregnated springs are found. On the east coast the water, which has to be obtained by sinking wells in the sand, is decidedly bad, being filled with animal and vegetable organisms, easily detected by the microscope. Most foreigners on the coast carefully collect the rain water in tanks for drinking, reserving the well water for washing and cooking purposes.

At least two kinds of intoxicating drinks are used by the natives, one a sort of mead, made from sugar-cane juice, honey, and one or other of the aromatic plants used as a flavouring. The other, a spirit distilled from the fermented juice of the sugar-cane, and occasionally scented with the wild anise of the country, is a much more powerful intoxicant, and its use by the people is greatly to be deplored. In Betsileo villages it was no uncommon thing for villagers to be in an almost constant state of intoxication for a week during the funeral ceremonies of one of their departed fellow villagers.

Although somewhat indolent, the average Malagasy is a clever and intelligent workman in the various arts

that have been introduced at different times amongst them. The Hovas, more especially, have proved themselves adepts at imitation of the most intricate developments of the handicrafts they have learned. Given a Hova who has learned a particular art and had a little practice at it, and one may rely upon getting a very clever imitation of any piece of work that can be wrought in that art with the tools he has, or can make. Hence it is that specimens of native-made gold and silver jewellery, especially the filigree work, brought to England, have excited so much admiration among connoisseurs.

The most universal manufacture in the country is spinning and weaving. This is doubtless an introduced industry, but from whom it has come no very clear tradition gives a clue. There is good reason, however, for thinking that the Arabs taught the Malagasy the art. The looms are very similar, and the patterns of the cloths, with their red, blue, yellow and green stripes, almost identical with that used by the Arabs. Rofia, flax, hemp, cotton, bark, silk, beside other fibres, are spun with the simplest possible kind of spindle, consisting of a thin round piece of the bark of the tree-fern or *anivona* palm, about a foot long, having a round flat piece of bone attached near one end to give weight. The fibre, held in the left hand, is attached to a small piece of grass stalk tied across the top of the spindle, so as to form a kind of hook. Being spun round with the thumb and finger of the right hand, the bone at the head is sufficiently heavy to give enough momentum to allow of the fibre being drawn and spun to almost any degree of fineness.

The thread is dyed with different vegetable and

mineral dyes found in the country, for which the people have discovered the proper ingredients; and of late years a number of aniline dyes from Europe have been extensively used.

The native loom is of the most primitive construction. The threads having been made into loops of equal length, each is placed upon a couple of cross-sticks about three feet long. These two sticks are then attached at their ends to four stumps driven in the ground, and so the threads are drawn tight. Heelds are attached to every other thread in the centre, and thin pieces of wood are also passed across the threads alternately, as in plaiting. By raising the heelds, which are fixed to a cross-piece of wood, a shed is obtained for the introduction of the shuttle, which consists merely of a piece of wood eight or ten inches long with some of the fibre rolled upon it. This is not "thrown," but simply pushed from one side to the other of the warp, often by one woman to her companion, and so the first thread of the woof is laid. The heelds are then lowered, and the two cross-pieces interlaced are drawn forward, thus reversing the shed. The shuttle is once more pushed through in the opposite direction, and the second thread after being drawn tight is knocked up close to its predecessor by a piece of wood shaped like a large blunt knife introduced into the shed. This process is repeated until the whole of the warp is taken up. After the day's work is done, the loom is easily detached from the four stumps which hold it, and rolled up. It occupies very little space in the corner of the house; and this is no doubt the cause of the failure to introduce the English or Norwegian spinning-wheel and hand-loom. When the simplicity of the apparatus is considered, it is wonderful that

the natives can produce such fine, regularly woven cloths as those which have found their way to England, and have been seen by many interested in the progress of heathen and uncivilised nations.

The iron manufacture carried on in the country appears to be partly of European origin, and was doubtless introduced by the artisans sent out by the London Missionary Society at the request of Radama I. The native mode of smelting is very simple. Iron ore (the black oxide) is found very near to the surface in many parts of the country, and is very pure, yielding from 50 to 70 per cent. of iron. This is placed in the form of a semicircular bank, in a hole dug in the ground, the concave side towards the pipe conveying the blast, which enters the pit below a large flat stone stood up edge-ways. Between this stone and the iron ore is the receptacle for the charcoal, which when once alight is banked up to fill the pit, whilst a continual blast is kept up for several hours by relays of men. Their bellows consist of two upright cylinders of wood about four feet long, in which a piston with a rough kind of valve is made to work, whilst at the lower extremity the cylinder is closed. At the side near the bottom is a small hole, in which a pipe of bamboo is fitted, conveying the blast to the fire. One man works each piston, and by doing so alternately an almost continual blast is kept up. After the usual interval the fire is allowed to go down, and the iron, cooled into a solid lump, is fished out with hooks, and is ready for the smith. In this way, by smelting with charcoal in which the ore is buried, a certain portion of the carbon is absorbed, and a kind of steel is the result, which, when wrought into knives, hatchets, swords and spears,

and properly tempered, is capable of receiving a good serviceable edge.

The forge very much resembles the smelting apparatus, except that the cylinders for producing the blast are not so long. The anvil is simply a block of iron let into a log of wood, laid on the ground; and the blacksmith uses his hammer and tongs while sitting very comfortably on his heels, presenting a strangely different aspect from the brawny-armed men wielding the sledge-hammers in our factories and forges.

Castings are made of iron, brass, or copper, by melting the metal in crucibles of a peculiar friable sandstone—which when freshly quarried is very soft, but when burnt becomes vitrified and extremely hard—and then run into moulds made of a moulding sand of good quality found in several parts of the central plateau. Some of the brass castings in the Chapel Royal will bear close examination, and would be no discredit to the best foundries of this country. Considering, too, the entire absence of machinery, one is surprised at the highly finished files, scissors, knives and needles that can be turned out of the native blacksmith's shop to compete, at any rate in price, if not in quality, with those sent from England. So abundant is the iron, and of such good quality, and so near the surface, that it only requires the country to be opened up and greater facilities to be given to the foreigners for introducing European methods and machinery, to make this branch of industry a lucrative speculation.

The art of plaiting straw, grass or rushes, to make mats, hats, bags, and various domestic articles, is universal. In some parts of the country mats made from a soft rush, the *harèfo* (belonging to the natural

order of *Juncaceæ*), are still used as the only clothing of the people; and in very many tribes mats made of this rush are used as sleeping mats. The *zozoro*, a rush resembling the papyrus (*Cyperus æqualis*), is plaited into the coarsest mats, for laying first on the floors of the houses, over which are laid those of a finer texture made from the *hazondrano*, a *Juncacea* somewhat coarser than the *harèfo*.

On the coast a large trade is carried on in sugar bags, made by plaiting the leaves of the pandanus and of the rofia palm divided into strips of convenient width. Hundreds of thousands of these are exported every year for packing sugar in Mauritius and Bourbon, as also a roughly woven cloth, called *rabanna*, made from the rofia fibre. Hats, made from a rough but very pliable kind of grass found on the table-land, are also exported. Some are extremely fine, and being made double, with a coarser kind of plaiting inside, are very serviceable, and fetch a good price in the English market. These are made with a broad brim resembling the panama hats, but a commoner kind made like a skull-cap is in much request in the country for the use of the bearers, who prefer them to the brimmed hats which are the only kind worn by the soldiers and better class of Hovas. In the forest, among the Tanala, a cap with four points at the corners of the crown, and ornamented with black embroidery, is the kind most commonly met with; while among the Betsimisaraka the hat is made of palm leaf plaited, and has a brim broad enough to cover the shoulders.

Various fancy plaits are also made, and many of the finest mats, hats and baskets are plaited into the most elaborate patterns. Some are decorated by being com-

posed of different-coloured straw or grass which has been dyed for the purpose, red, yellow, black or brown. This is another branch of native industry which is capable of development in the interests of commerce, and could be made to render a good return.

Native pottery is of the roughest description, and its manufacture has advanced no further than is necessary to supply the very limited requirements of the semi-civilised. Cooking-pots and water pitchers of various sizes, and a kind of double salt-cellar, in imitation of those frequently met with on the Continent, are almost the only articles representing the fictile art in Madagascar. The water-pots are of two kinds; one, kept in the house, and capable of holding twelve or sixteen gallons, the other, a small pitcher used for fetching the water from the springs. The cooking-pots are also of two kinds; one, globular, with a small mouth, for cooking meat or manioc, &c., often elaborately ornamented; and the other, a semi-spherical vessel for cooking rice, and furnished with a lid of the same material.

The best pottery I have seen, that among the Betsileo, is made of a blue and red clay mixed. After being properly tempered, a woman takes a piece and commences on a small board to build up, with the fingers only, and without the aid of wheel or any mechanical contrivance, just so much of the sides of a pitcher or cooking-pot as will stand without losing the shape given it. It is then set aside to dry; after which another layer is added to its height, one hand inside and the other out, regulating the thickness and shape of the article. When quite dry it is smoothed by being rubbed all over with a smooth stone or piece of bone; and occasionally the edges are ornamented by being

smeared with plumbago. It is then placed in a hole in the ground embedded in a layer of dried cow-dung, which is also used to cover in this roughly-formed kiln. A light is applied, and after care has been taken to ensure the ignition of the fuel, it is left to burn itself out, when a well-burnt and durable article is obtained, though plain and devoid of ornament. In this connection Mr. Sibree says that "a special kind of vessel made for cooking the beef at the new year's festival is rather elegant in shape, much resembling some of the Anglo-Saxon pottery now and then found in our own country." [1] "These vessels are circular and somewhat flattened, and are frequently ornamented with a series of lines and zigzags very closely resembling those on the early fictile productions of the German races." [2]

Attempts have been made to introduce the use of the wheel, and to teach the people the manufacture of plates, dishes, cups, &c., but these have been abortive, either from the want of a suitable clay, or from the indifference of the natives. Where European pottery cannot be obtained, plates and cups are easily made from the fresh green leaves of the banana, or travellers' tree, which can be folded to answer these purposes. Spoons or cups of this kind are preferred by the people to any other. In the Betsileo and Tanala, dishes are made from the pandanus leaf cut into squares, folded up at the cut edges and sewn into place. They are then dried in the sun, and form a dish or cup that will for a short time resist even hot water, gravy or rice. In the Bara this requirement is met by dividing the

[1] *Great African Island*, p. 208.
[2] Ibid. p. 263.

gourd shells into convenient shapes and cleaning and polishing the inside. In some places on the coast the cocoa-nut shell is used for the same purpose, and even a small square mat closely plaited and made to turn up at the corners answers for a rice dish.

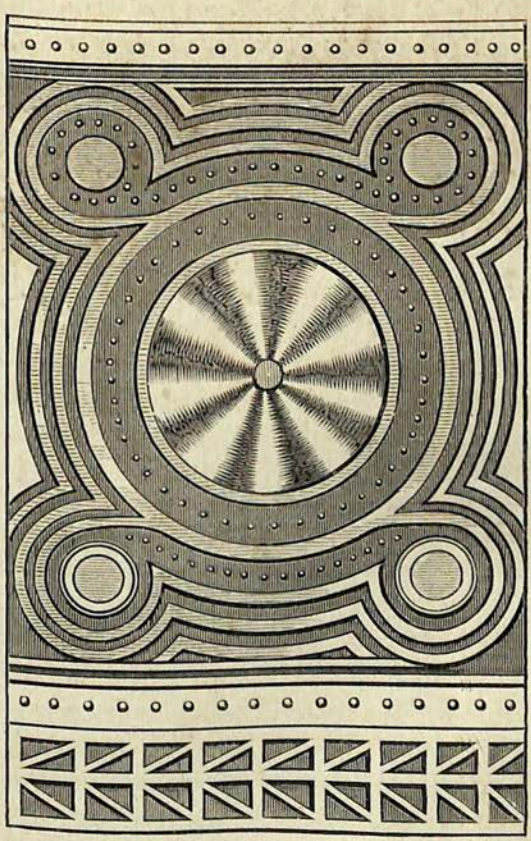
In the manufacture of jewellery the Malagasy seem to have derived nearly all their ideas from foreign sources. Only among the Bara and Tanala have I seen what appeared to be specimens of purely native design in ornamental metal-work. A peculiarly shaped brass pin was, among one branch of the tribe, an insignia of chieftainship, and their earrings, bracelets and anklets were evidently of native design. But, notwithstanding this dearth of native art among the Hovas, they make extremely dexterous and ingenious silversmiths, after having been taught to use a few tools, and supplied with patterns or models from which to work. In imitation they appear to equal, if not excel the Chinese. Thus they will make most excellent copies of flowers, birds, or European jewellery, and even execute a design from an illustrated price list in such a way as to defy any but an expert to tell that it is not of English manufacture, and made with all the advantages of modern machinery, and not with the few rough tools in the possession of the Hova silversmith. Some of the silver chains and filigree work are marvels of fineness and exactness, while the delicate and precise repairs successfully done to valuable watches would drive an English watchmaker to despair, when he saw the tools with which it was to be performed. The long delicate fingers and keen eyesight of the Hova seem admirably adapted for this kind of employment.

Almost the same terms could be used in speaking

of carpentry and cabinet-making, nothing but the roughest specimens of these arts having been used until European necessities induced the people to turn their hands to this branch of industry. Now, well-made furniture and cleverly finished cabinet work can be purchased from the native workshops, and, for solid, good workmanship and enduring qualities, may be compared favourably with much of the showy ginger-bread furniture turned out from the English factories.

Carving and artistic designs, while apparently altogether absent from among the Hovas before the introduction of Western civilisation, was not by any means wanting in other tribes. Among the Betsileo, Bara, and Tanala, most elaborate designs are to be discovered in the ornamentation of the house-posts, window-shutters, doors, pitcher-stands, spoon-handles, &c.; and every one travelling into this part of the island has been struck with the skill displayed upon the adornment of the tombs and monumental stones in the Betsileo country. After taking a great number of rubbings of these carved designs, I was struck with the fact that the simple or elementary design is almost identical with the same species of ornament in Polynesia. On a carved hatchet handle in my possession, from Mangaia, are some patterns precisely like those I had obtained from the Betsileo houses and tombs. These patterns appear to be an elaboration of the circle and triangle, singly or in combination, which fill up the different squares into which the whole post or shutter is divided.

Perhaps the most elaborately carved post I saw during my residence of eight years in the Betsileo, was at a small village about a day's journey north-west of Fianarantsoa.



NATIVE CARVED PANEL.

(*From a Sketch by Mr. Shaw.*)

This was the central post of a high house belonging to one of the chiefs. It was twenty feet long, and carved from top to bottom. Each of the four surfaces, about eighteen inches broad, was divided into sections by cross-cuts forming squares with the edge of the post. In each of these were different designs formed according to the individual tastes of the many men who were probably impressed into the service of the chief to perform the work. Some consisted of radiating triangles whose apices met in the central point; some were filled with pairs of circles touching each other at the circumference; others were concentric circles, and the corners filled with excrescences springing from the outermost circle; other squares were filled with zigzag lines running parallel to each other, or running diagonally across the square, while in some were rough imitations of birds, bullocks, crocodiles, &c.

On many of the Betsileo tombs and monumental stones are also found, in addition to the designs referred to, bullocks, or bullocks' heads, probably to show the number of cattle killed at the funeral of the man buried there.

But that the Hovas are capable of proficiency in this art also is shown by the stone carving round the memorial churches, the elaborate carving of the Queen's throne in the Chapel Royal, and by the beautifully wrought bone ornaments made in imitation of those worn in England.

In regard to the musical art it may be said that, although the Malagasy are passionately fond of music, have a fair proportion of good voices, and delight in singing, yet their national music is of the most primitive kind. All their songs are mere chants, containing

at the most but three or four individual sounds, and many of them scarcely removed from a monotone. They were evidently invented for the purpose of keeping time in paddling their canoes, or in transplanting the young rice. In both cases it is usual for one to sing a kind of refrain while they all keep time with the movements of the body, so that at the accented note the paddle is inserted and a vigorous pull is given in the former case, or a young plant is pushed into the mud in the latter instance. Children have also many games similar to those played by boys and girls in England, where one party sings its reply to another, or where a company keeps time in its march to the song of the leader, all joining in a kind of chorus.

The instrumental music native among the people is also little more than a rhythmical repetition of two or three notes; but some of their instruments are capable of rendering any simple tune, and by those who have received instruction in music they are so used now. Without pretending to furnish a complete list of all the musical instruments native to the country, it may be interesting to give a short description of those which have come under the writer's observation.

The simplest and probably the oldest instrument used to produce a sound for making a rhythm is found among the Ibara and the people of Ikongo, in the south and south-east of the Betsilio respectively, and consists of a bamboo eight or ten feet long, and three or four inches in diameter, split at several joints, but not divided. This is mounted on two short sticks, forked, and stuck in the ground, standing a few inches high. On both sides of this bamboo the players are arranged, each having in his or her hands short sticks for striking.

By varying the force of the strokes a time is kept, accompanied generally by singing and clapping of hands, to which the dancers keep time.

In one of their heathenish ceremonies the iron part of an old spade is suspended by a string, and being struck with another piece of iron, is used to mark the time in the native dance during the performance of the *sálamànga*, elsewhere described; but I have never seen it used at any other time.

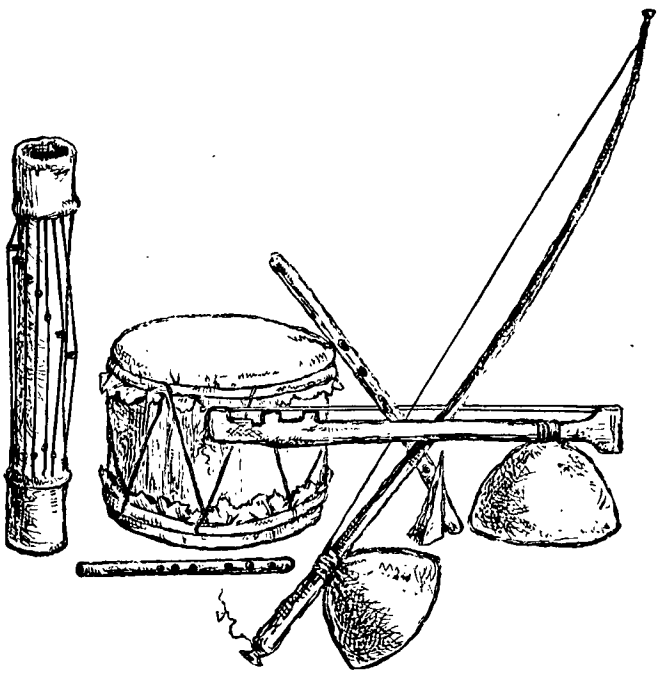
Two kinds of drums are used:—one, a species of tomtom, is about eighteen inches long and nine inches to a foot in diameter. Both ends are covered with parchment made of sheep's or goat's skin stretched tight and pegged to the body of the drum with wooden pegs. Strings are attached for suspending the drum from the neck of the player, who strikes with the flat of his fingers. The woodwork is usually hollowed from the solid trunk of a tree. The larger drum is from two to three feet high and three to four feet in diameter, made of thin wood bent into shape by heat, and tied with thongs of leather. The ends are covered with dried bullock's hide stretched tight on bands of wood fitting outside the body of the drum. It is beaten with sticks with knobs, but uncovered. Drums seem to be universal in the country, as they are found in different tribes living a long distance apart.

There are two kinds of native flutes, one about two feet nine inches long, made from a long joint of bamboo, smoothed inside with a red-hot piece of iron, and having three holes near the lower end. This long flute I have seen in the Betsileo, Ikongo, Bara and Taimoro tribes. The other kind is also made of bamboo, about a foot in length, and having six holes, with occasionally a

seventh for the thumb on the reverse side from the six holes. This is found in Imerina, Tanala and Betsileo, where it has probably been introduced from Imerina. Both kinds have the two ends open and are held sideways, slanting downwards when used, the player blowing across the open end farthest removed from the finger holes. The breath striking the inner edge of the tube at right angles sets up the vibration by which the sound is produced. The long flutes give a loud mellow note; and a band, composed of half-a-dozen flutes and a drum, is used by some of the chiefs to accompany them on state occasions; and the effect, though somewhat monotonous, is by no means unpleasant.

Another instrument used by the Betsileo, the Betsimisaraka, the Tanala, and the Ibara, is the *lokàngambòatàvo*, a species of lyre. A piece of hard wood about two feet long is fixed at one end to the half of a gourd-shell, which forms the sounding-board; at the other end of the stick are three frets or bridges, left in cutting out the wood, over which two strings made of cat-gut are passed, and fastened at each end of the long piece of wood. The player places the bottom of the half-gourd shell against his chest, holding the stick near the end in his left hand. By twanging the strings with the thumb of the right hand, and using the fingers of the left to press the strings firmly on the frets, he has six notes at command. I have found a want of uniformity in the tuning of these two strings; each player seems to suit his own taste, tuning them to thirds, fifths, or even octaves by untying them and drawing them tight before readjusting them, as there is no moveable bridge or peg for tuning.

In the Betsimisaraka tribe (the only one in which I



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

(*From a Sketch by Mr. Shaw.*)

have found it) a kind of single-stringed lyre is used, called a *jèjilàva.* A stick about four feet in length has the half of a gourd-shell fixed near one end, and a string attached to the other end is passed over a bridge near the gourd, and fixed securely to that end of the stick. In some cases, however, the bridge is altogether dispensed with, and the bend of the stick is made to keep the string clear. The gourd is pressed against the chest of the player by his left hand, the fingers of which shorten the string by pushing it against the bridge, or by simply pressing firmly against it with the back of the finger. In his right hand he holds a piece of dried pandanus leaf folded into the shape of a tall square bottle, and containing a few grains of rice. In the same hand he holds a thin piece of elastic wood or bamboo, with which he strikes the string between the left hand and the end of the stick nearest to the gourd, producing a curious combination of sounds, the rattling of the rice in the leaf imitating the side drum played *pianissimo,* while the click and sound of the string resemble to a certain extent the sharp snapping sound of an old harpsichord.

But by far the most elaborate instrument the Malagasy have is the *valiha.* It is formed of a piece of bamboo about four feet long and four inches in diameter. "At a first glance this long cylinder seems to have a set of strings attached to it, which are held out from the trunk by a moveable fret or bridge inserted near the end of each; but these strings are really thin slices of the cane, no thicker than a violin string, which, though they stand out from the stem, are a part of it, and have only been split away for the length of two feet. Any further splitting is prevented at either end by a band of cord tied round the stem. If a string

breaks, another is easily cut from the trunk. The strings stand at equal distances all round the stem, surrounding it as the iron frame-work surrounds an umbrella handle when the umbrella is closed." Different instruments have a different number of strings, varying from 14 to 20 or 24. They are tuned by moving the frets along the string, and when properly tuned, it sounds one or two complete major diatonic scales. On some, wires are introduced screwed up with pegs, as in a violin, giving a sound two octaves lower, and its fifth for filling in a simple bass. This instrument is undoubtedly traditional among the Tanala, Betsileo and Hovas, as none can give any account of its origin. And although Wallace, in his *Tropical Nature*, describes an instrument very similar, used in Timor, there is reason to believe that it has not been imported into Madagascar, unless, indeed, by the people themselves. In playing, the strings are plucked by the nail, and the long nail on the little finger is for this put into requisition. Clever players can reproduce any tune on this instrument, and it is by no means disagreeable. Only a short time before I left Madagascar I heard a man on board the *Antananarivo* play some elaborate dance music, the National Anthem, the Marseillaise, &c., in a style far more pleasing to the ear than that of the music box from which he had learnt them.

A large number of European instruments are now used in Madagascar, and very good bands are to be met with in some of the Government towns, composed either of stringed or wind instruments, with cymbals, triangles, and side drums. Harmoniums are not at all uncommon, and many natives have, thanks to the tonic sol-fa, become fairly proficient players, conducting the singing in the services on Sunday in a highly creditable manner.

CHAPTER III.

Theories regarding the origin of the Malagasy—Mr. Staniland Wake—Objections to the African origin—Probability of Eastern origin—Traditions—Vazimba—Hovas admitted to be Malay—Physiognomy Language—The dark-skinned races—Craniology—Dr. Hildebrandt's testimony—Some differences in the two branches of the Polynesian races—Habits and customs connecting Malagasy with Polynesian—Hovas landed on south-east—Their probable course—Arabic influence—Immigration of dark-skinned race much more ancient.

REGARDING the origin of the Malagasy, many writers have, at greater or less length, expounded their theories, some of which have been very far-fetched, and some based apparently upon a very meagre acquaintance with the Malagasy. Mr. Staniland Wake has published two pamphlets, the former of which was read before the Anthropological Society in 1869, and was based on pure supposition. The suggestion of Dr. Sclater to account for the highly specialised character of the fauna of the island, viz., that a continent since submerged existed at a remote period in the Indian Ocean, connecting Africa with the south-eastern corner of Asia, was the basis of this theory. Admitting this, it was easy to imagine that this lost continent of "Lemuria" was inhabited by two races, one light-skinned and the other with a dark skin and frizzy hair. But, as has been shown, the arguments of Mr.

Wallace are conclusive against the theory of an ancient but now submerged continent. By the perusal of his later pamphlet, published in 1880, we find that 'Mr. Wake has entirely abandoned his earlier supposition that the light-skinned Hovas were of Melanesian origin, and the darker races of the island were the representatives of the Hottentots; and he endeavours to prove by their community of habits and customs that the Malagasy are of Siamese origin. But, as far as I am able to judge, precisely the same arguments may be used, and almost all the instances adduced apply equally well to the inhabitants of Malaysia; and it seems scarcely reasonable to suppose that, as the arguments apply to a spot nearer home, the district further afield should be looked to as the source from which the Malagasy have sprung.

Geographical proximity must of course always carry some weight in an inquiry of this nature, although it does not follow that the home of a race not autochthonous was the nearest continent. The character of the original race, whether they were maritime or not in their habits, must be taken into consideration, in conjunction with physical phenomena, such as the prevailing winds and currents, when the inquiry relates to the origin of the inhabitants of an island. For these reasons, if there were no others, we should incline to connect the Malagasy with the Malay race, rather than with the Siamese, as both have very much the same customs, and would both be influenced by the same physical facts of favourable wind and current. On the other hand, although Madagascar is so near the African continent, the inference from the nature of the coast, the sea, and the wind, is that Madagascar was not

peopled from that source. The absolute want of anything like a safe harbour on the east coast of Africa would create a population very unlikely to trust themselves any distance from the shore, even in calm weather. And this would imply an absence of sea-going craft of any kind, even of large canoes. Then again, even if, despite natural disadvantages, the original inhabitants of the coast had developed into a maritime race, no natural phenomena exist to account for their ever finding their way to Madagascar. The prevailing wind is from the south-east and north-east, and although in Madagascar a westerly wind does occasionally blow during the latter part of the cold season, yet it never continues for more than a day or two, a length of time far too short for the passage from the nearest point of the continent to the most western portion of the island. Besides the wind being against this theory, the current sets very strongly in the opposite direction. The equatorial current sets from the east, one portion breaks on the coast of Madagascar a little to the north of Tamatave, and divides, one part running swiftly to the north and passing round the northern point of the island, and the other flowing more slowly towards the south, and joining the Cape current, also setting to the south-west. Hence it is highly improbable that we should have to look to Africa for the root-stock of the Malagasy.

Mr. Wallace has also conclusively shown that Madagascar has been an anciently isolated land, and the probability is that for many ages it has never been connected with the continent, and no communication was possible except by water.

A set of circumstances exactly the reverse of the

above, bear upon the theory of the Malayan origin of the Malagasy. The Malays have always been a maritime people, possessing many natural facilities for the development of this quality, good harbours, protected seas, and invariable winds. They have shown their enterprise by the extent of sea over which they have roamed, and the distance between the islands in the Polynesian archipelagoes which they are known to have peopled, from New Zealand to the Marquesas. Both winds and currents would favour the supposition that some of these hardy mariners had been drifted out of their reckoning, and been carried by their influence to Madagascar.

I am well aware that of themselves these arguments would not be sufficient to prove any connection of race. But other facts which are recognised as bearing upon the matter strangely support the supposition of the Malayan origin of the Malagasy.

Unfortunately, no history of the people has been preserved previously to the introduction of the Gospel, when the language was for the first time reduced to writing. Otherwise this would be a conclusive indication of the origin of the people. We are, therefore, driven to examine the traditions current among them to obtain some indication of the truth.

The clearest and most universal tradition among the different tribes with whom I have come in contact is that they came from the east, and conquered the original inhabitants, who appear to have been exterminated. These were called Vazimba, described as small in stature and with black faces. They were probably of an allied race to the African, as nomadic tribes of the name of Mazimba were mentioned in the

sixteenth century as occupying the east coast of Central Africa. Mr. Dahle, who has given considerable attention to this subject, expresses his opinion that the "Mazimba (Vazimba and Wuzimba) may have been a collective name for several East African tribes, growing gradually into disuse as these tribes became more separated: and from this common stock the original inhabitants of Madagascar (the Vazimba) were an offshoot."[1] They appear to have inhabited the interior of the island, as there are but very indistinct relics of tradition referring to them on the east coast, while there are numberless spots pointed to in the interior as graves of the Vazimba; and even on the west coast, where there still exist clear indications of the existence of such a race, tradition says they came from the east. That the Hovas were not the only conquerors of the Vazimba is proved by the traditions of the Betsileo, who are also said to have come from the east and conquered the Vazimba. An utter absence of tradition among any of the tribes of a western origin must carry some weight.

With scarcely an exception, all writers upon the origin of the Hovas have accorded to them a place among the Malay races. The remarkable similarity of physiognomy between the inhabitants of Imerina and the Maories, and perhaps the still more decided resemblance of the former with the Eastern Polynesians, has strengthened if not originated this opinion. The colour and character of the hair, the average stature, the shape and complexion of the face, the shape and colour of the eyes, all these are very similar in the two races.

[1] *Antananarivo Annual*, No. VII., p. 23.

Then, as one becomes acquainted with their language, it is found how closely allied it is with the Polynesian languages, and allied not simply by a mere coincidence in the sounds of various words, but in the more important feature of possessing the same numerals, very much the same order in composition, and the same or very similar names for the most common objects, which, being found in Polynesia, are indigenous to Madagascar. It has been pointed out that the Malagasy words for bullock, dog, sheep, &c., are apparently African in their origin; but these, with others, would be strange to the immigrants, and a name would have to be found for them. Nothing is more natural than that the names used by the original inhabitants should be adopted; and in this way the African element would be introduced into the Malagasy language—presuming that the Vazimba were allied to the people on the east coast of the continent. But while this is the case with regard to objects not found indigenous in Polynesia, the names of the yam, sweet potato, cocoa-nut, and some others with which the eastern immigrants would be quite familiar, and which they found in Madagascar, are identical with those for the same objects in Eastern Polynesia.

But if this, with the habits and customs, the arts and manufactures practised amongst them, which we will refer to presently, is sufficient to account for the Hova origin, what about the other tribes—the dark-skinned races of the island? All the other peoples in Madagascar are very much more closely allied to each other than to the Hovas, who stand alone as a light-complexioned, smooth-haired race. Very much greater difference of opinion exists regarding the origin of the

former races than of the latter. This has arisen, no doubt, in a great measure from the darkness of their skin seeming, with the proximity of the island to the east coast of Africa, to connect them with the African races. The identity has also been rendered more delusive by the known intermixture of African blood with the coast tribes in comparatively modern times. During a long period slaves have been imported from Africa into the island, and these have presumably left their impress on the coast inhabitants. But if the communion of race is to be tested by physiognomy, we require very much more systematic and scientific examination of facial features and cranium measurements than has yet been made. The general impression left by a hasty examination may be used as a slight confirmation of results arrived at by other means, but cannot be entered as the main witness in proof. For instance, the fact that several Hovas at different times, to whom I have shown portraits of one or two Eastern Polynesian teachers, have in each case asked what Malagasy portraits they were, and could scarcely be convinced that they represented men of another nation, may be accepted as subsidiary testimony to an already accepted theory that the Hovas and Eastern Polynesians come from the same stock, but it is of no further value.

Dr. Hildebrandt, the remarkable German traveller, who had, with the best scientific instruments, made many cranium measurements in South Africa, and compared them with some he made in Madagascar, gave it as his opinion that the Malagasy were of African descent. In a conversation I had with him in the early part of 1881, he said that, as far as his

research in this matter went, he was led to the conclusion, that while there were some slight indications of a connection in race between the Hovas and the South Africans, the similarity between the coast tribes of the island and those in South Central Africa was most marked. This may be so: but it has to be remembered that the part of the coast with which he had become best acquainted, is just that portion of it which has been admittedly most affected by recent immigrations from Africa. And hence those in the north-west cannot be taken as at all a typical branch of the dark-skinned race.

But again, the same arguments, based on the language of the Hovas, connecting them with the Malayo-Polynesian race, applies equally well to the remaining tribes of the island. For the language throughout Madagascar is essentially one, divided certainly into a number of different dialects, but differing no more from one another than that of Lancashire from the English of London. It has been found that wherever the missionaries who have learned only the Hova language have gone throughout the island, they have been able to make themselves understood with more or less ease. There is far less difference in language between the various tribes in Madagascar than between the various groups of islands in the South Pacific, all of whom are admitted to be of Malayan origin.

But in Polynesia we have just the same facial differences as in Madagascar. The Samoans are as unlike the western islanders, as the Hovas are unlike the Bara, Betsileo, or Betsimisaraka. And seeing that, as Mr. Dahle points out, many of the peculiarities of the Malagasy language are Melanesian in character, these

facts, taken in conjunction with various customs that are similar, seem to point to a community of race between the dark-skinned inhabitants of Madagascar and the Western Polynesians. In fact, every argument which is brought forward to prove the affinity of the Hova race with the Malayo-Polynesian, as represented by the eastern islanders of the Pacific, can be used with equal force and certainty to prove the connection of the Bara, Betsileo, &c., with the western islanders.

Skins were never used by these people for clothing; but barks of various trees, soaked in water and beaten with wooden mallets until thin and pliable, constituted their earliest form of covering. They were early acquainted with the use and the smelting of iron, in the latter operation using bellows similar to those in use among the Malay races. The most solemn contract between two parties was concluded by the practice of brotherhood by blood. In the presence of the chiefs and judges, &c., the common people always sit, and not stand. There is a long list of things looked upon as *fady* or *tabooed* by all the tribes in the island. These and some other customs which are found to exist equally among the dark-skinned races of Madagascar as among the Hovas, point to a Malayan origin, and are directly opposed to the theory that Africa was the cradle of the Sakalava, Betsileo, &c.

Traditions among the Hovas indicate that they landed originally on the south-east coast, and that this landing must have taken place before the Norman Conquest of England, inasmuch as they remember the names of thirty-seven successive sovereigns who have reigned over them. The present Queen is the thirty-seventh; but the first of the list is admitted to be by no

means their first sovereign only that before his time all their history is veiled in obscurity, and buried in fabulous legends. Hence, as Mr. Sibree points out, as there have been thirty-six sovereigns of England since the Norman William landed on our shores, it is feasible to suppose "that the average length of reign was about the same in Madagascar as in England," and that therefore the Hova incursion was not later than that of the Normans into England.

Landing on the south-east coast, probably few in numbers, they found a people whose language, differing somewhat from their own, was nevertheless intelligible to them. Here they resided until their numbers had multiplied to such an extent that, incited by their spirit of adventure, they felt themselves strong enough to march up into the interior of the island, where they made their permanent home. They may also have been pushed further inland by the incursion of the Arabs, who probably landed within the past 800 years, leaving their marks in the language of the country, all the names of the months of the year and days of the week, and the distinguishing customs of the tribe on the south-east coast of the present day being of Arabic origin.

The Arabic influence spread in a very decided manner along the east coast, where in places the people still maintain that they are descendants of Arabs, in others that they are altogether Jews, or *Zafy Ibrahim*, or *Ibràha* (descendants of Abraham). The native name of the island of St. Mary, off the east coast, also clearly indicates Arab influence—*Nosy Ibraha* (Abraham Island). The Arabic influence on the character of the people on the north-west is of much more recent date,

probably being introduced with the import slave trade to supply the Hova market.

The immigration of the dark-skinned races represented by the Betsileo, Betsimisaraka, Sakalava, &c., appears to have been much more ancient than the Hova. They were the people inhabiting the coast when the latter arrived, and the similarity of the language, together with some community of habit and custom, accounts for the survival of the immigrants among a wild race. It is probable that the Hova incursion may have originally consisted of but comparatively few individuals, perhaps a few hundred, driven out of their course by a hurricane, and conveyed to their landing-place by the currents, and that, as is still so common among the South Sea islanders in their maritime expeditions, they carried their wives with them. That the great distance they must have traversed is no argument against this supposition, is proved by the known cases of islands in the Pacific in quite modern times being peopled by those from far-distant places after having drifted thousands of miles.

But the earlier inroad of the other tribes in the island must either have taken place at a very remote period, or else have been the result of a much larger expedition. The latter is probably the solution, especially when it is remembered that the coast tribes have retained, to within recent times, the love for large expeditions for piratical and slave-catching purposes. As late as 1816, such a piratical fleet consisted of 6,250 men in 250 canoes. In 1805, the natives, numbering, it is said, 7,000 men, overpowered a "Portuguese corvette of 14 guns," sent against them by the authorities at

Mozambique. And now, although these excursions have been stopped, the people still exhibit their skill as seamen by the clever way they push their canoes and boats over the reefs and bars through a high breaking surf enough to terrify any but the most adventurous.

This we think accounts for the populations of Madagascar. All have come at different remote times to the island from the east, and are unmistakably of Malay origin, or rather from the same stock from which the Malays and Malayo-Polynesians have sprung. Of the existing inhabitants, the dark race representing the Western Polynesians immigrated first into Madagascar, and drove the original people into the interior. The Hovas came afterwards, lived some time near the coast, and when powerful enough drove the Vazimba out of Imerina, and settled there.

At the present time a great deal of European admixture is evident among the coast tribes, especially on the east; and a considerable amount of African and Arabic infusion is manifest on the west and north-west coasts. These have to be carefully taken into consideration in any attempt to trace the origin of the coast tribes.

CHAPTER IV.

ATTEMPTS TO COLONIZE MADAGASCAR FROM 1643–1814.

Earliest connection of France with Madagascar—Rigault—Promis and Foucquenbourg—Fort Dauphin—Description of products—French not the discoverers of Madagascar—Suarez—Ruy-Pereira—Tristan d'Acunha—Emmanuel's expeditions under Lopez de Figueira and Juan Ferrano—Dutch attempts—The English colony of 1644—Flacourt, 1648—French expelled in 1672—French East India Company—St. Mary or *Nosy Ibraha*—Count Beniowsky's expedition and administration, 1774–1786—Bory de St. Vincent, 1801—Treaty of Paris—Contention of M. Lozier against Sir R. Farquhar—French attempts in 1818—Gourbeyre's escapade, 1835—Radama I. subjugates the Sakalava.

THE various vain endeavours which France has made to form colonies on the island of Madagascar date from the year 1643, when the French Eastern Company declared that it had taken possession of it and the adjacent islands in the name of the King of France. Captain Rigault obtained from the Duc de Richelieu in 1642, for himself and his associates, the right or monopoly of trade in the islands in the South Indian Ocean, and then to form French colonies, "which concession was granted to them for six years, to the exclusion of all others, without the consent of the associates, who, to that end, formed a company; and the concession was confirmed by His Most Christian

Majesty, and was registered at the record-office of his council of state the following year, confirmed again by His Majesty at present reigning."

In March of that year the company sent a vessel, under the command of Cocquet, with orders to load with ebony. He was to convey Messrs. Promis and Foucquenbourg, their clerks, and twelve Frenchmen to settle in the island, and there await another vessel which was to be despatched from France in the November following. Cocquet arrived off the island about the month of September, and "in passing went to the islands of Mascareigne and Diego-Raïs, which islands Promis took possession of in the name of His Most Christian Majesty." These navigators appear to have explored the island of St. Mary, on the east coast of Madagascar, and to have entered Antongil Bay. But no attempt was then made to settle there. Promis and Foucquenbourg fixed upon the bay or "Port of Sainte-Luce named Manghafia in Lat. 24° 30′ south," as a spot suitable for their purpose of forming a French colony.

This is the first record we have of any body of Frenchmen landing in Madagascar. Unfortunately for the success of the expedition, it arrived at the commencement of the hot and rainy season, and chose a spot low and marshy, and therefore a hotbed of malarial fever. Soon discovering the nature of the place which they had intended to make their home, the young colonists were compelled to seek a more healthy spot on which to establish themselves. Travelling a little distance along the coast, a selection was made of a piece of land at the northern point of a rocky and hilly peninsula, in the province of Anosy. Here Fort Dauphin was built, and nature seemed to

offer every encouragement to the strangers, who found themselves in a fine salubrious climate, the air cooled by the south-east sea breeze, and yet outside the range of the much dreaded cyclones of the central Indian Ocean.

The district around Fort Dauphin is said to be a country extremely rich in vegetation, and containing an abundance of useful animals. "The bullocks are not so numerous, but they are of finer quality than those found in the northern parts of the island; the sheep, with their large fat tails, that are looked upon as the most delicate part of the animals; and goats are plentiful." Pigs both domestic and wild are abundant. The latter inhabit the forest lands, but prey upon the plantations of the natives to such an extent that they become a dreaded plague, and various devices have been employed to rid themselves of the depredators. They are hunted with dogs trained for the purpose, and pits are dug in their haunts, having sharpened stakes projecting from the bottom, and the mouths hidden by rushes carefully concealed by earth. The flesh of these wild hogs is hard, but well-flavoured; they have a peculiarly long snout, and are covered with dark, reddish-brown hair. Poultry (turkeys, geese, ducks, and fowls) is both abundant and very cheap, and quails and wild fowl are met with in great numbers in the grassy plains and marshes. The rivers and the bay abound in fish of various kinds, and oysters of excellent quality are found on the rocks.

Various kinds of vegetables are cultivated by the people, with comparatively little expenditure of labour. Rice of different kinds forms the staple article of consumption, while manioc, the sweet potato, yams and the arum beans and earth nuts are among the articles

cultivated to increase and vary the food supply. There is also a fair variety of fruit trees—the orange, citron, lemon, bibas, and banana are found around every village. Cotton, ginger, and tobacco are also raised, and are said to be of excellent quality. Wild honey is gathered in the forests, where the numerous flowering shrubs and plants attract large quantities of bees, which make their homes in the hollow trees and in the crevices of the rocks. Great quantities of silkworms are also reared in this part of the island, of a species entirely different from that generally recognised under that name in England, but which produces silk of a fine quality, though rather dull-looking, and lacking the peculiar glossy texture of that from the Chinese worm. The silk, dyed with native dyes obtained from various plants native to the country (indigo, turmeric, logwood, nato, &c.), is spun and woven into lambas of considerable beauty and value. The forests supply a large variety of valuable woods for cabinet-making, some useful fibres, and excellent gum. Such is the character of the country around the spot which still bears the name its first founders gave it—Fort Dauphin or *Farodofay* in Malagasy—a spot having so many natural advantages, that the wonder is that it ever passed out of the hands of the French, who, if they had any genius for colonisation, must have recognised the value of such a post.

But it must not be imagined that the French were the discoverers of Madagascar. As far as existing documents give us the means of judging, it would appear that Fernando Suarez landed in 1506, and seems to have founded some trading stations for Portuguese enterprise. Doubtless the island was known to the

Portuguese before the above date, for it seems incredible that their navigators could have made the frequent voyages to India, after the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama in 1497, without sighting the land lying to the east, as they hugged the eastern coast of Africa. A few months after this discovery, and without any communication regarding it, another Portuguese navigator was driven by stress of weather to its shores. A vessel under the command of Ruy-Pereira was separated in a storm from the fleet of Tristan d'Acunha, and borne away to the west coast of the island. So struck was the captain with the beauty and fertility of every part of the island which he saw, that he sailed immediately for Mozambique, hoping there to meet his chief and induce him to visit and take possession of the newly discovered land, which he had been assured was rich in spices and other valuable products. It appears that Tristan d'Acunha not only visited the west coast, but remained there sufficiently long to obtain a fairly accurate idea of the manners and customs of the people, and to construct a chart of the coast-line at the same time that Suarez was engaged in a similar work on the east coast. It is doubtless owing to the care which the former bestowed upon endeavouring to represent the contour of the island as far as his observations went, and the imperfect nature of the instruments at his command permitted, that his name is the only one to which the honour of first discovery was given, whereas it is beyond all doubt that F. Suarez had seen and partly configured the east coast some months previously.

The king, Emmanuel, at a subsequent date, sent another expedition, under Jacques Lopez de Figueira, to ascer-

tain whether or not the country was really so rich in spices and silver as it was popularly believed to be. Although ginger was found to be tolerably abundant, we read nothing of other spices nor of silver; and the expedition may be said to have entirely disappointed the sanguine navigators who entered into it. Hence, with the evident intention of conclusively ascertaining the nature of the island and its products, its inhabitants and their manners, another fleet was sent under the command of Juan Ferrano. His commission was to go and obtain as clear a knowledge of the country and its resources as possible, and if necessary to make such treaties as would secure to Portugal the commerce of the island. Some ports were formed for this purpose, and a trade was established, but with the exception of that in slaves to the Arabs on the north-west coast, very little seems to have been done. An effort was also made to introduce Christianity among the natives, but this mission seems to have been abortive, and to have ended in the massacre of the missionaries. When the Portuguese finally left the west coast is not clear, but no effort was made to secure the permanent possession of the island.

In a like manner the Dutch subsequently opened a trade with Madagascar, and established a few trading stations, but their connection with the island was of short duration.

A disastrous attempt was made in 1644 to found an English colony in St. Augustin's Bay, on the the south-west coast, a spot particularly attractive to the stranger, on account of its fine anchorage and good river communication with the interior. These points, taken in conjunction with the evident fertility of the

district, as exhibited by the rank growth on every hand, were sure to influence those who were seeking a home in a new land. But the spot was so unhealthy that few ever left their adopted home; and the number of graves in the cemetery alone, close by the fort, as recorded by some Frenchmen of the Promis-Foucquenbourg expedition, show how deadly the climate was, and what havoc it made among the band of hardy colonists.[1]

From the time of Flacourt, who, in 1648, succeeded Promis, and who, by his intelligence and energy, has earned a well-deserved fame among the adventurers to Madagascar, the endeavours of France to establish a colony in the island are a series of the most miserable failures. Harshness and brutality towards the natives, whom they never made the slightest attempt to conciliate, even supplying their own necessaries by turning marauders and pillaging from the unoffending villagers in their vicinity, and constant quarrelling among themselves, characterised these early abortive attempts on the *Grande ile.* Governors were appointed in rapid

[1] M. E. de Flacourt, speaking of this affair, says:—"The river Youghelade is a river as large as the Loire, descending in a west-south-west direction from the mountains of Manambola; and after flowing a distance of twelve or fifteen days' journey, it falls into the magnificent bay, called by the Portuguese St. Augustin's Bay, in which large vessels were ordinarily anchored. About the year 1644 an English vessel disembarked 400 men, where they found an earthwork built long before by the companions of François Picard. Three or four years later, twenty-two Frenchmen, hoping to find an English vessel bound for Europe, arrived there from Fort Dauphin, but they failed to discover a single inhabitant. There was a fort and a cemetery, in which it appeared that more than 300 had been interred. They were informed by a chief named Dian-Maye, who contracted for the supply of bullocks for English vessels, that the captain had died of fever (de maladie) with most of his men, and that a vessel had taken off the remainder."

succession, but they were only distinguished by their utter incapacity, their spirit of rivalry, and their want of discipline, each allowing the posts to sink deeper and deeper into the mire of insubordination and disorder, while no effort was made by any quietly to extend the influence of France over the surrounding country. At the same time it is asserted by French writers, that such was the lukewarmness or half-heartedness of the French Government, that every expedition arrived on the coast at the most unhealthy season, causing an immense sacrifice of life, and a feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction on the part of the survivors.

Such being the character of the first attempts at colonisation, it is not surprising that the natives were driven to unite in driving these unwelcome visitors from their shores. So in 1672 the French at Fort Dauphin found themselves compelled, by the patient and long-enduring natives, to take refuge in a vessel which happened then to be lying at anchor in the bay. "Thus," says a French writer, "the fine colony founded by the French Eastern Company was completely ruined." And although Louis XIV. found too much to employ his time and talents in the management of his own kingdom to send another expedition to Madagascar, yet the island[1] was declared to be a possession of the Crown of France; and this weak-minded declaration of sovereignty was actually confirmed in subsequent years and still exists, so it is said, in the archives of the Admiralty. This constitutes, it may be presumed, the *ancient rights* of France, of which we have recently heard so much in the French papers and periodicals.

In Louis XV.'s reign another determined effort was

[1] Called then the *ile Saint Laurent.*

made to gain a footing in the island and re-establish the old trading stations. In 1733, a visit for the purpose of surveying the north-east coast was made, and in 1746 Labourdonnais surveyed the Bay of Antongil on the east coast; and in 1750 the French East India Company gained possession of the island of St. Mary or Nosy Ibraha, the largest off the coast of Madagascar. This the French still retain.

The island of St. Mary[1] is separated from the east coast of Madagascar by a channel about three miles in width at its narrowest point off Point Larée. The centre of the island is situated in latitude 16° 45′ south and 46° 15′ longitude east of Paris. It is about thirty miles long, from five to eight miles wide, and has a coast-line of over sixty-two miles, with an area of about 224,568 acres. An arm of the sea traverses the island towards the south, forming the Islet, which has a circumference of five miles. The chain of reefs which surround it is broken here and there by passages forming practicable openings for the entrance of vessels. The channel which divides the island from the mainland is nothing but a vast, sure harbour with a safe anchorage. The principal bay in the island is Port Louis, which is formed by a breaking down of the land two thousand yards in length and a thousand in width. In the centre of the bay is a small island, called by the French, *Isle Madame*, and by the natives Lonquez, having a length of three hundred yards by one hundred and twenty-five yards at its greatest breadth. This island, defended by fortifications and armed by batteries, contains the Government stores, armoury, dockyards, and

[1] The following description is obtained from *Not. statistique sur les possessions françaises à Madagascar.* Imp. Roy. 1840.

barracks. To the south-east of this is another small island, which forms the head of a pier that was built in 1832. The passage on the north-east of the former island is deep, and sufficiently large to admit the largest vessels.

There are several other anchorages at other points on the east coast of St. Mary, among which may be noticed the Bay of Lokensy, that faces the port of Tintingue. The coast of St. Mary is not precipitous; in one or two places only are there basaltic capes, but the remainder of the coast presents a sandy beach covered with beautiful verdure. At first sight the island appears to consist of an infinite number of small detached hillocks, but on closer acquaintance it is found to contain several distinct chains of hills, composed partly of basalt (?) and partly of tufa, in some red and others yellow, covered with sand and quartz. The soil of the island is generally speaking poor, except a narrow zone in the centre, comprising about a fifth part of the area. This is the only part regularly cultivated by the natives, and is owned entirely by them. The heat and moisture of the climate appear highly favourable to the cultivation of all tropical products except, perhaps, cotton. The island abounds in iron, and there are plenty of building materials, such as stone, lime, and clay suitable for brick and tile-making. Various kinds of valuable wood are also abundant, such as the *voamboana, nato, atafana, filao,* and many others of less value, while the undergrowth and stunted bushes extend to the sea-beach. There is a good supply of water of excellent quality, which forms streams sufficiently large to be utilised as a motor for saw-mills, and are seldom dry. In some parts of the island the streams

form large marshes; but it is stated that these can, with but little expense and labour, be drained.

The natives occupy houses of wood covered with thatch made from the travellers'-tree leaves. These are small, but well made, and resemble those inhabited by the foreigners established on the island. There are thirty-two villages in the various parts of the district, approached by the rudest of footpaths, which pass over rocks and through marshes without any consideration for the comfort of the traveller.

The isle of St. Mary is considered one of the countries of the globe in which the rainfall is greatly above the average. Rain falls on 220 to 240 days each year.

This island was the only spot of land in or near Madagascar owned by the French till the year 1774, in face of the grandiloquent proclamations made after 1672 by Louis XIV. These sounded well in French ears, but meant no more than do the present enigmatical phrases so frequently seen in French newspapers, of "French ancient rights" to Madagascar, or the "just claims" of France to the best portions of the island: phrases fitted to catch the popular ear, but unable to bear the light of sober reflection and a very cursory research.

In 1774 an establishment was formed in the Bay of Antongil by Count Benyowski, the only man who ever gave promise of an ability to organise and govern a French colony in Madagascar, but who, from jealousy on the part of those in authority, was thwarted in his honest endeavours, and eventually killed in his attempt to maintain his position. Beniowski, or Benyowski, was a Polish Count, who, after serving under the

Emperor of Austria during the Seven Years' War as a lieutenant, visited Holland and England, professedly to gain some knowledge of shipbuilding and the art of navigation. On his return to Poland he was appointed one of the chiefs of the Confederation of Bar in 1768, and after proving successful in several engagements with the Russians, he was eventually taken prisoner, and sentenced to banishment to Siberia in 1769. Having rendered some personal service to Nilof, the Governor, the rigour of his confinement was somewhat relaxed, for we find that he was appointed tutor to the Governor's children, and that he married his master's daughter. He used his greater freedom in arranging a daring scheme for securing his own liberty and that of sixty or seventy of his companions in exile. This was achieved in 1771 by taking possession of a Russian sloop-of-war lying off Kamtschatka, and setting sail to Japan; from thence he passed on to Formosa, to Macao, where his wife died, to India, and subsequently in a merchant vessel to Mauritius, where he met with anything but a warm reception from those in authority, and where he found that his plans regarding Madagascar were frowned upon by the Governor, and himself regarded as a dangerous adventurer.

Finding no encouragement in the Isle of France, Benyowski went to head-quarters, and his schemes were looked upon favourably by the Duc d'Aiguillon, an enthusiast on the subject of colonial aggrandisement. A commission was granted to the Count to found colonies for France in Madagascar; but the elements of trouble and failure were introduced into the patent by the stipulation that the necessary supplies should be sent from Mauritius, and Benyowski

should subordinate himself and his plans to the Governor of Mauritius. The Count appears to have remonstrated against the injustice of thus making his success altogether dependent upon the goodwill of those who had already shown such strong opposition to him. But no change could be effected, and he was compelled to accept the position, which resulted in the eventual defeat of his plans and his own death.[1]

He returned to Mauritius in the latter part of 1773, and found that all his fears of opposition from the Government of that colony were likely to be more than realised. So miserably had all previous attempts on Madagascar by the French been mismanaged, that the Governor of Mauritius, De Tournay by name, considered the prospects of his own island endangered by the expedition of the Count, which would prove abortive also, because "the people of Madagascar, having for one hundred and fifty years repelled all the attempts of France, they would not submit at this moment when they were united under a solid government formed by themselves."

Before rendering any aid to Benyowski, De Tournay determined to appeal to the Home Government; but the former was far too resolute and decided a man to brook such delay. He accordingly sent over a part of his expedition in December, 1773, to contract with the chiefs and make conciliatory terms with such as were willing to receive them. Meanwhile he was detained in Mauritius by various difficulties, the defection of some of his men, the sickness of his officers, and the dilatoriness of the authorities, while not only was he treated contemptuously by the Governor, but, according to his memoirs, messages were sent to the chiefs in

Madagascar discrediting him, and cautioning them of his intention to reduce the whole island to slavery.

Hence, upon his arrival in Antongil Bay in June, 1774, the Count found a great number of people prepared to meet him; but he appears to have acted in a wise and judicious manner in endeavouring to favourably impress the natives with the objects of his expedition. He made treaties of alliance with the chiefs, who were quite willing to allow him to settle in the country and build a town, so long as no kind of fortress was erected. They were doubtless led to this by their knowledge of the actions of former settlers; and Benyowski showed his wisdom and his extensive knowledge of mankind, in acceding to these conditions, and so conducting his little settlement as to produce a sense of confidence in the minds of the adjacent chieftains.

Having secured the tranquillity of Louisbourg, the town he had built, an effort was made to extend his influence into the interior and towards the south, by sending trusted messengers with interpreters to reason with the chiefs, and to convince them of the advantages of trade; while at the same time a great deal of useful information respecting the character of the country, the habits and numbers of the people, was collected for the future use of the Count, or Governor, as he was thenceforward styled. The reports brought in enabled him to build and fortify various posts along the coast at Ivongo, Ngontsy, Fenoarivo, Tamatave, and Foule Point, as well as a sanatorium for his invalids on the higher land at a distance from the malaria of the marshes which surround Louisbourg or Maroantsetra.

Owing to his indefatigable activity, his authority

quickly extended to all the people with whom he came in contact, and treaties of peace and alliance were made with the chiefs. Still he was surrounded with trouble, for not only were many of his followers suffering from the fever of the country, but he also found that the pusillanimous jealousy of the Government in Mauritius had prompted them to withhold the necessary supplies. Representations of the distress thus occasioned were made to their fellow-countrymen without meeting with any response, and Benyowski was at last forced to apply to France for relief. Meanwhile, it appears from the memoirs of the Count, that efforts were made by the Governor of Mauritius to stir up disaffection among the friendly tribes, and he even sent over some men—a supercargo, storekeeper, and some clerks—with no good intention towards the infant colony. A few days after their arrival they were discovered in acts evidently intended to compromise the settlement, and one man even went so far as to say he had authority to take possession of the Governor's effects and papers in case of his death. It required the greatest fortitude and wisdom on the part of Benyowski to prevent the destruction of the settlement, and there appears reason to fear that, but for the faithfulness of his officers, he must have fallen a victim to the machinations of these emissaries of prejudiced officials.

On more than one occasion the Sakalava combined in an attempt to exterminate the foreigners, but were totally unsuccessful, so powerful was the alliance between the French and the tribes adjoining their posts. Just after one of the successful expeditions against the Sakalava who had approached to the opposite side of the forest, Benyowski received des-

patches from France in answer to his application of over two years previously; but unfortunately, although the French Government showed themselves sufficiently interested in their subjects to freight a vessel with stores and ammunition, yet the Count received instructions to confine himself to the defence of the positions he had gained, and not strive to push further afield, as there was a feeling of uncertainty on the part of the Government as to the desirability of forming a permanent colony in Madagascar. Further, he learned by later letters in the mail, that the vessel carrying the much needed supplies had been wrecked on the south coast.

Taking these matters into consideration, the Count determined at once to return to Louisbourg, and not push his advantage against the Sakalava. But he found it very difficult to dismiss his allies, as they said they would not desert him, having heard that he was to be taken away to be tried in France. This was not the only cause for their unwillingness to depart, as became apparent soon after the Count's return from the west. A feeling had been gaining ground among the natives that the Governor was the lineal descendant of Ramini, the last sovereign of Mananara. This report had arisen from the declaration of a slave, Suzanne, whom Benyowski had brought over with him from Mauritius, who declared that he was the son of Ramini's daughter, who had been taken away captive with her, and sold as a slave in Mauritius. These declarations had been gaining favour with the people, and so great was the respect for Benyowski, that even Rafangoro, the reigning chief, agreed to abdicate in his favour. The Count thought that "the urgent crisis in his own affairs, deserted as he was by every friend

except such as he could obtain in a barbarous nation, rendered it justifiable to avail himself of this and many other superstitious notions of the natives, tending to point him out as the possessor of this vacant chieftainship. The belief appeared to be gaining ground at the very time when the affairs of the colony rendered it a great temptation to the Count to take advantage of it." Hence it is not surprising, when three of the most powerful chiefs waited upon him to instal him as one of their number, that even the pain of breaking away from his appointment under the French king did not weigh very heavily with him, against the position of influence he would gain by the acceptance of the proffered honour; more especially as three officers and fifty soldiers revolted just at this time against the underhanded intrigues of the Governor of Mauritius, and declared they desired to join their fortunes for ever with Benyowski, from whom they would never separate.

Having received his acceptance of the offer, the chiefs retired to make arrangements for the public ceremony; and on the following day, September 16th, 1777, a great kabary was held, when Benyowski was publicly proclaimed to be the *ampasakabè* or chief king of the district. The heads of the people, on their behalf and in their name, swore fealty to the new king, and gave assurance of their fidelity and confidence. The Governor replied, saying, "he should endeavour to establish a government on a firm foundation, and to promote the happiness of the people, by introducing all the arts of civilisation and a system of just laws."

The people insisted upon one point, viz., that their new king should separate himself entirely from France,

and asked him where he would like them to build his capital. He replied that although it was his intention to break with France, yet it was necessary that he should be at hand to meet the French commission which was then on its way to inquire into the state of the colony. The commissioners arrived on September 21st, and made a complete examination of the posts, the forts, the servants, and officers; and five days after landing they held a meeting with the people for the purpose of a complete investigation into the character of the administration of the Governor. The result was that a certificate was presented to him, upon his resignation of his office into the hands of the commission, attesting to the perfect regularity of his conduct of the colony, and clearing his character from the aspersions of his enemies.

On September 29th the commissioners re-embarked. But notwithstanding that he had resigned his office under the French king, yet he consented again to act as head of the establishment, at the earnest request of the soldiers and the officers next in command to himself; but at the same time he protested that such action must not be looked upon as a return to his former standing in the French service, for this he had positively renounced.

On October 12th an imposing ceremony, investing Benyowski with his kingly authority, took place. The natives, to the number of 30,000, had assembled to take the oath of blood, and hear the address of the sovereign. The oath of blood is performed in the following way. A native cooking-pot is partly filled with water, into which is put a collection of various articles, such as a bullet, a flint from a gun, a little

powder, some rice in the husk, &c. Two spears are then procured, one of which is held upright in the vessel while the other is used to strike the former, while pronouncing the words of the oath calling down the most frightful maledictions upon the one subscribing to it if unfaithful to its terms. Then a small incision is made under the breast of each contracting party, and a drop of the blood is caught upon a piece of ginger, which is eaten by the other. A small quantity of the water from the cooking-pot is also handed to each in a leaf, and drunk.[1]

It appears from the memoirs that the people took the oath of sacrifice also, which consists in the slaughtering of a bullock, and each contracting party taking a little of the blood, while repeating imprecations against himself and his children if they should prove unfaithful to their oath. The women also came and took the oath to obey the Countess (who had arrived from Hungary), and to defer to her in all their quarrels.

Benyowski set about vigorously to establish a settled form of government, which was to have been partly of a representative character, consisting of two councils: one containing thirty-two of the principal

[1] In the above I have taken M. L. de Lacombe's description. Grandidier went through the same ceremony, which differed only in minor points. Benyowski says that each *sucked* the blood of the other. I was asked to make myself the brother of Ratsiandraofana by the oath of blood, when I was told that a small piece of the *flesh* was taken from each and swallowed by the other. I, however, thought it more dignified to tell the king that an Englishman's "yes or no" was as powerful a bond as the *fàta-drà* or "bond of blood." For other variations in this ceremonial, see the *Great African Island*, Sibree, pp. 223–225.

chiefs to form a kind of privy council to assist the Count and watch over the welfare of the State; the other to be composed of the provincial governors and their councils. There is no doubt that if he had been allowed to carry out his plans, which met with the entire approval of the chiefs, the history of Madagascar would have been widely different, and its condition far more prosperous.

But, strange as it may seem, two months after these events the Count left Madagascar in a brig, *La belle Arthur*, for Europe, with the intention of endeavouring, with the consent of the chiefs, to make a treaty of commerce and alliance with France or some other European nation. On his arrival in France he reported himself at Versailles, and so well pleaded his case that the Cabinet admitted his rights; and, in consideration of his services while Governor under France, he was presented with a sword of honour. But, so far from making any treaty with him, and so acknowledging his position as king, the Government refused to have anything more to do with him. Foiled in France, Benyowski offered his services to the Emperor of Germany, and was at the battle of Habelschwerdt, 1778. But not being more successful in his aims in Germany, he tried to obtain in London men and money for his purpose, and to enable him to return to his kingdom, but again he was doomed to disappointment. These reverses, however, only stimulated him to further effort, and in 1784 he was rejoiced at receiving enough support from some merchants in America to enable him to return to Madagascar.

He landed, July 7, 1785, at Nosi-be, and gaining the mainland in a boat, he walked across the northern

portion of the island to Antongil Bay, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm after his long absence by those in the establishments which he had founded. To obtain the rule, and to gain possession of the Government stores, was an easy task; but such an act meant rebellion, and the Governor of Mauritius was not likely to lose the opportunity this afforded him of crushing the obnoxious Count. A frigate, the *Louisa*, was despatched to take him "alive or dead," and arrived off Foule Point, 1786.

"After procuring what provisions they wanted, the *Louisa* proceeded along the coast to Ngontsy, and having moored the vessel about half a league from the shore, they sent two boats, well manned, with two pieces of cannon on the bows of each, in order to effect a landing. When this was done they marched immediately towards Benyowski's settlement. After crossing five marshes they heard the people at work at the settlement, and soon after saw a red flag, which is the common signal for battle in the island. Benyowski had at this time retired to the fort, with two Europeans and about thirty natives, who happened to be with him. The fort was situated on an eminence, surrounded by strong pallisades, and defended by two four-pounders and a few swivels. These were played off against the French, who, however, continued to advance, and when they had got sufficiently near were ordered to return the fire. The first discharge proved decisive. Benyowski received a ball in the breast, and fell behind the parapet. He was barbarously dragged forward by his hair and expired in a few moments."[1]

Such was the end of this extraordinary man, who

[1] *History of Madagascar.* Ellis, vol. ii., p. 91.

was the only representative France ever had in Madagascar with genius sufficient and penetration keen enough to have made the island a French possession. But he was never seconded in his efforts by those in authority at home, who appeared to have had very little anxiety about the extension of French interests, and who regarded his character and action in very different lights. Some French writers speak of him as a cruel, tyrannical usurper, while others say that "his name is still held in veneration by the Malagasy tribes on the coast among whom he formed his establishments."

After the death of Benyowski no further effort was made by France to form a colony in Madagascar. The revolution which soon after broke out occupied all the attention of the Government. The only notice taken of former pretensions was exhibited in the despatch of such men as Lescalier in 1792, and Bory de St. Vincent in 1801, and Decaen in 1804, to ascertain the condition of the various trading stations, kept up for the purpose of supplying the wants of Mauritius and Bourbon, and as ports from which to despatch the slaves bought for the markets of those islands. All the horrors of the slave trade existed under French control there; and notwithstanding every attempt which has been made to put a stop to the export of Malagasy as slaves, there is reason to believe that in the island of Bourbon are many who have been kidnapped from the west coast by Creole captains, and taken to fill the want felt by the planters in the stoppage of the supply of coolies of India, for which their own cupidity and want of fair dealing are alone responsible.

These traits have characterised French dealings with

all native races, whether in the Indian seas or the Pacific, and to this cause must be attributed the hatred which the coast tribes bear to the French and French Creoles. Instances have frequently come under the notice of the writer illustrating the relief felt by the people in a lonely village or town, when it has become known that their visitor is English, and not French. Even in the Ikongo, a long distance inland, the first question asked, before any communication was allowed to be made to the king, was: "Are you French?" and the traveller heard afterwards for his satisfaction that, had he been of that nation, steps would have been immediately taken to send him out of their country.

The value of French influence in Madagascar is well estimated by Lescalier in the official report he gives of his voyage, referred to above. He says that "Europeans" (this must mean the French, as no other nation had made an attempt on the east coast, which alone he visited) "have hardly ever visited this island but to ill-treat the natives, and to exact forced service from them; to excite and foment quarrels amongst them, for the purpose of purchasing the slaves that are taken on both sides in the consequent wars; in a word, they have left no other mark there but the effect of their cupidity. The French Government have at long intervals formed, or rather attempted to form, establishments amongst these people; but the agents in these enterprises have attended exclusively to the interests and emoluments of the Europeans, and particularly to their own profits; some of these ministerial delegates have even been dishonest adventurers, and have committed a thousand atrocities. It cannot therefore

excite surprise that sometimes they have experienced marks of the resentment of the Malagasy, who, notwithstanding, are naturally the *most easy and sociable people on earth.*"

It appears both from French as well as English writers, that one cause of the want of success on the part of the French in obtaining a firm footing in Madagascar arose from a dread on the part of the colonists of Mauritius and Bourbon, that if France possessed Madagascar, their islands would become only secondary. They thought that the large risland would require so much protection and patronage, that they would be absolutely neglected, and hence they threw cold water upon every effort at colonisation.

The European wars of the Empire entirely distracted the attention of France from Madagascar, and her fleets in distant seas were too weak to protect those colonies she had long possessed. One by one they fell into the hands of the English, and in 1810, owing to the fact that Mauritius was the *entrepôt* for the prizes taken by the French fleet from the allied powers, and a convenient port in which the enemy could refit, an English force was sent, and captured Mauritius, Bourbon, and all the possessions of France in the Indian Ocean. Men were also sent to Tamatave, Foule Point, and the other establishments of the French on Madagascar, to destroy or occupy them. Thus ended the French occupation and all just claims to Madagascar.

By the Treaty of Paris, May 30th, 1814, Article 8, Bourbon was returned to the French, while Mauritius and her dependencies were still held by the British. Hence, as the Madagascar stations were always looked upon as dependencies of Mauritius, these naturally

became English. When Sir Robert Farquhar, the first English Governor of Mauritius, proclaimed formal possession of Madagascar by His Majesty, the French Governor of Bourbon, M. Lozier, strongly protested that Madagascar was not named in the cession of territory to the English by the terms of the treaty of 1814. The baselessness of the contention that Madagascar was a dependency of Bourbon is shown by the whole course of events from 1643, as well as by the words of the official report in 1801, in which these words occur:—"The Isle of France (as Mauritius was then called) can be considered only as a military post, and Bourbon as its magazine." So that even Bourbon itself was looked upon as one of the dependencies of Mauritius.

Some diplomatic correspondence passed in reference to the subject, and eventually on October 23rd, 1817, England handed over all our possessions to the Hova King Radama I., who was just then beginning to make his power felt throughout the island. A treaty was made with him on that date, by which, in consideration of his abolition of the export slave trade, the English Government agreed to pay an annual pension of $2,000, 10,000 lbs. of gunpowder, 100 muskets, and various quantities of military stores and accoutrements. Some French writers speak very bitterly of this treaty, as an infringement of their rights, and a mark of the perfidy of England, and even saddle us with "having a hand" in the pillage of their vessels and trading stations on the coast, as well as the insolence of the natives towards them. We fail to see any injustice in the English action, and it seems more reasonable to look at their former treatment of the natives as the cause of the

want of respect on the part of those who had been cheated and robbed by every adventurer who ever came under the colours of France.

Smarting under what they supposed to be an ignoring of their position in the island, the French, in 1818, commenced retaking from the Malagasy those ports which had once been in their hands, at Fort Dauphin, Tamatave, Foule Point, Mananara and St. Mary. But Radama was in 1823 sufficiently established to make the attempt to rule his country alone, and appeared suddenly on the east coast at the head of a considerable force, and swept the invaders from his shores.

In 1829, another equally futile attempt was made by the French under Gourbeyre to gain a footing, and revenge themselves upon the Malagasy for past disasters. But at Foule Point they were put to rout by the natives with great loss, and Gourbeyre was glad to betake himself and his expedition to Bourbon. Even St. Mary can scarcely be said to have been theirs, for, according to French authority, there were but thirty-seven soldiers there in 1836, who must have been permitted by the islanders to have remained there on sufferance; and Radama, having no fleet, looked upon the island as too insignificant and too unapproachable to trouble himself about its possession.

Radama I. was a man of considerable natural ability, tact, and forethought, faithful and honourable in the carrying out of his engagements, but still with the uncultured savagery of the heathen barbarian. His wars were marked by constant rapine and license, his government by a rough and severe justice. The advance which he and his subjects made during his reign is to be accounted for entirely by the wisdom he

displayed in accepting the good offices of strangers who came to his country from pure philanthropic motives, and whom he was able to discriminate from the many who resided in his country simply to trade, which, too often in those days, meant cheating and robbing. It is to Radama's credit that, notwithstanding the many inducements to break the treaty with England and continue the slave trade, he kept faithful to his promise, and forebore to make profit by eluding the vigilance of the English cruisers.

Meanwhile M. Roux, the French Governor of St. Mary, had again and again tried to stir up the tribes on the mainland to the south to take up arms against Radama, and after the establishment of the native post at Foule Point an endeavour was made to induce the natives to attack and destroy it. But their efforts in this direction proved altogether abortive, as the coast people felt more confidence in their Hova conquerors than in their French oppressors.

In 1824 Radama formed the project of subjugating all the other tribes of the island to his sway, and, accompanied by Mr. Hastie, the British Resident, led a force against the Northern Sakalava and subdued them, chief after chief meeting him and swearing fealty to him. During the remainder of the lifetime of the king these people acknowledged his supremacy, although French agency was not wanting to attempt to stir them up to resistance and to an assertion of independence.

CHAPTER V.

THE RECENT FRENCH CLAIMS.

Loyalty of Sakalava chiefs—Rebellion in 1839—So-called cession of territory, and treaty of 1840—Lambert company—Radama II.'s death—Indemnity paid by Malagasy—Land in the capital claimed by the heirs of M. Laborde—Government Gazette on the validity of claim—Indemnity demanded for lives of Arabs on the *Touélé*—Native accounts—Arrival of M. Baudais—Examination of native witnesses—Sudden demand of France for all the north-west coast—Native objections—M. Le Timbre and Hova flags—Embargo on the *Antananarivo*—Points which militate against French claims—The matter of the *Antananarivo*—Detention by Le Timbre indirectly causes death of Americans on south-west—Account of the outrage on Mr. Emerson—Outrage to the American flag—Determined action of American consul.

THE Sakalava remained faithful to the King of Madagascar, as Radama I. was styled, and to his successor Ranavalona I., until 1839. Then the severity and harsh enactments of that persecuting Queen drove a portion of the tribe (those in Iboina) into rebellion. Hova troops were sent against them and conquered them. They fled the country, and took refuge in Nosi-be, Mayotta, Nosi-Mitsio, and other small islands off the north-west coast. A French man-of-war soon after coming to Nosi-be, "made common cause with the Sakalava; and it is alleged that in July, 1840, the latter ceded their territory on the mainland together

with Nosi-be to the French. That island was accordingly taken possession of by the French in 1841, and has ever since remained in their hands; but from that date till the year 1882, no attempt had ever been made to enforce the right the French claim to have acquired on the mainland, and the Hova Government has always strenuously resisted any such claims by foreigners."[1]

Shortly after the possession of Nosi-be, according to a native eye-witness still living in Tamatave, a scheme was made to obtain a footing on the mainland and on some of the smaller islands. A French man-of-war arrived off Nosi-Mitsio, and the chief was induced to go on board, as it was stated that the ship had come to show him how friendly the French wished to be with him. At first he declined to go, but was at last persuaded to trust himself on board, when the vessel immediately left and took him to Bourbon. He was fêted there for some time, was presented with a sword and uniform, and eventually signed a document agreeing to a French protectorate. When this was completed he returned to find that his people were by no means so ready to brook any interference. Serious disturbances occurred while the French man-of-war was still there, and the chief begged to be taken away to Nosi-be. He was landed there, and the French returned, reduced the island to order, and followed many fugitives to the mainland, which they also claimed as part of the chieftainship. This is only a native account, and I give it for what it is worth; there is doubtless some truth in it, as the narrator is a trustworthy native pastor.

[1] *What are French Claims on Madagascar?* by Rev. J. Sibree, F.R.G.S.

In 1862, much more important negotiations seemed to put a large part of the island into the hands of a French company, called the Lambert Company. Radama II., who was then king, was powerfully influenced by foreigners, and very decided leanings towards the French were evinced in his conduct of the business of the kingdom. It is well known that this infatuation, his almost constant state of drunkenness, and his countenance of duelling, caused the revolution which ended in his death, after a short reign. By the terms of the agreement with the Lambert Company, he granted them sovereign rights over all the land between the 12° and 16° of south latitude.

A concession of this kind is entirely opposed to the principles of the Malagasy Government, a fundamental one being, that all land belongs to the sovereign, and that no foreigner can own land in the country. So powerful was the opposition in the succeeding reign to the claims of the company, that a compromise was effected, in order to satisfy at once the prejudices of the natives and the vested right of the company. This was done by means of a payment of $240,000 on the part of the Malagasy Government to the company; and the acceptance of this indemnity entirely rescinded all claims of the French to any part of the mainland; for it is a noticeable fact that in the agreement made the king was styled "King of Madagascar," not King of the Hovas, thus implying his sovereignty over the whole island. The same may be said of their treaty made in 1868, where, several times, as in the English and American treaties, the Queen is styled Queen of Madagascar, which must necessarily mean the whole island. No claim was made to the territory on the

north-west, and the French vessels, in common with those of other nationalities paid the usual customs to the Hova authorities placed there to receive them. What can be better proof than this that the French acknowledged the right of the Queen—who was even appealed to when disputes arose between the French traders there and the Hova officers?

The first time that an attempt was made to wrest any land from its original and rightful owners, was made by M. Cassas, on behalf of the heir to the former consul, M. Laborde. A piece of land had been given to the latter for his sole use at Andohalo, in the centre of the capital, in the same way as plots had been given to British subjects who were favourites with the sovereign. On these they built, and, in fact, used them as their own freeholds. But each plot had reverted to the Queen on the death or departure of the original recipient; as, for instance, the plot given to Mr. Cameron, who enjoyed the undisturbed use of his piece of land till his death, when the houses and land reverted to the Crown. But on M. Laborde's death an unrighteous endeavour was made to compel the recognition of the claim of his heirs to possess this land in perpetuity. To this the Government demurred, stating the above agreement, and also referring to the fact that when M. Laborde was driven out of the country by Ranavalona I. no attempt was made to claim the land. "And further," says the *Government Gazette*, "the document said to have been signed and sealed (in support of this claim) cannot be admitted as proving the validity of the claim, because M. C. Laborde, who alone appears as witness, kept the seal of Radama II., and could use it as he pleased; and not

only so, the date of the document is 1864, but Radama II. died in 1863. And after he was dead even, M. Clement Laborde still kept the seal, and not till the Government expressed some indignation did he give it up. Before any arrangement had been made M. Cassas left for home in 1879."[1]

"In 1881," to quote from the same authority, "M. Meyer came up to the capital to take the place of M. Cassas. He was received with the same honour as had been shown to M. Cassas. M. Meyer's business was to report that a dhow, called the *Touélé*, belonging to Arabs, but French subjects, had come to Marambitsy (a port on the boundary of the land under the rule of Bokary Bekirondro), and that four Arabs had been killed and the cargo stolen or lost. He claimed an indemnity of $9,740 for the lives of the men and for the value of the merchandise.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs sent to the Governor of Mojanga to seek the murderers of these Arabs. But a little time after the messengers had left for Mojanga and adjacent Hova stations, a letter from Bokary Bekirondro was received, stating that those Arabs were selling arms and ammunition at Andoka, which is a place not yet acknowledged as a port by the Malagasy Government; that is, a place without a custom-house. Therefore the messengers of Bekirondro forbade them to land and sell them; in consequence of which the Arabs fired on the Malagasy, and Jangoa, a Sakalava, and a Malagasy subject, was killed.

While negotiations were still pending, M. Baudais arrived in 1882, and M. Meyer left the country.

The business in connection with the dhow, *Touélé*,

[1] *Ny Gazety Malagasy*, for June 23, p. 2.

was taken up again by M. Baudais and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The former was told that, as M. Meyer had been previously informed, messengers had been sent to enquire into the matter, and that when they arrived at Mojanga every effort was made to discover the Sakalava who were said to have murdered these French subjects. One, whose name was Ijoby, was arrested. When brought up he was examined by the Governor; and he said, "When those Arabs, French subjects, came to sell arms at Marambitsy we were sent by Bekirondro to forbid them selling them, as it was a violation of the treaty between France and Madagascar, which stipulates that no arms should be imported into the kingdom of the sovereign of Madagascar except those sent for by the Government. On account of the breaking of this agreement, we were despatched by Bokary Bekirondro to forbid the sale. Twice we forbad it, but no notice was taken, and when we came the third time to stop them, the Arabs became enraged, and they said, 'What do you know about it?' They fired at us, and our leader was wounded and fell into the water, while many of the others were killed. When we saw that they attacked us in earnest—for our hands could not shield us from their balls—we fired, because they were not only breaking the treaty but attacked us first."

When these words of Ijoby were sent by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to M. Baudais, he would not take them into consideration at all, but pressed for the payment of the indemnity mentioned by M. Meyer, saying that what the Arabs had done was no infringement of the stipulations of the treaty. Notwithstanding, because of the desire of the Government of Madagascar for

the continued friendship of the Government of France, and its dislike of vacillation, they paid the indemnity.

After a little time had elapsed, M. Baudais declared that the north-west coast of Madagascar, under the Princes Benas and Monja, belonged to the French, and he said that a treaty to that effect had long been made with the Sakalava. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs protested strongly against the possession of that land by any foreigner, and the proof of their not possessing it was the treaty signed in 1868, in which the Government of France acknowledge that the Queen is the sovereign of the whole of Madagascar. Besides this, that tract of country was comprised in the land for which Rasoherina, the Queen, paid $240,000 in 1856, and from that time the French ceased to own the smallest piece of land in Madagascar. Again, the fact that the merchants, whether French or English, paid all the custom duties to the Queen, and that these were received by officers placed there by her, is proof that the land was recognised as belonging to the sovereign of Madagascar.

But although these proofs were placed before them it only made matters worse here, and Commandant Le Timbre took forcible possession of the Hova flags which had been hoisted by Beharamanja and Mahavanona, and laid an embargo on the *Antananarivo*, a ship belonging to the Queen of Madagascar, and objected to the landing of the rifles bought from an American company in Tamatave.

The above is a concise statement of the claims of the French to the north-west territory, from which it is seen that the Government felt itself too weak to resist the payment of the indemnity for the Arab

smugglers who were killed by the Malagasy in self-defence, although they felt its great injustice. It is difficult to see how the French Government reconcile the above demand with their claim to the very territory in which the escapade occurred. Outrages of a similar nature, but where only Malagasy have been killed by French subjects, have been by no means uncommon; and I have heard on good authority cases of kidnapping and murder on the west coast, which for inhuman atrocity are only equalled by the exploits of some of the South Sea kidnappers. But the Malagasy Government have not had sufficient power to enforce *their* claims for reparation, and the perpetrators not only are still free and unpunished, but at least one French captain makes a boast of how many he killed in one voyage. And yet, when some Arabs of doubtful nationality, by chosing to fly the French flag, are killed for their misdeeds in territory claimed by the French Government, the Malagasy are compelled to pay the sum of £1,948 because some of their subjects endeavoured to defend their own lives! The matters which bear against the French claims to the part of the Sakalava territory are clearly tabulated by W. C. Pickersgill, Esq.,[1] in the *Madagascar Tract*, No. 2. Following his arrangement, they appear as follows :—

1. Ranavalona II. and her predecessors have been acknowledged by French treaties as sovereigns of Madagascar, without any reservation whatever.

2. The Hova authorities have collected customs at various ports in the disputed territory ever since the country became theirs by conquest.

3. The Sakalava chieftains and princes have all at

[1] Since appointed H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul at Antananarivo.

various times presented their tokens of fealty to the Hova sovereigns.

4. The Sakalava people have paid a yearly poll-tax to the Hova.

5. The French flag has never been hoisted on the mainland (north-west) of Madagascar. The Hova flag has been flying for more than forty years on the territory now claimed by France.

6. Hova governors have from time to time encroached upon the privileges granted to the vanquished Sakalava by Radama I. The Sakalava have looked to the Queen at Antananarivo for redress. No jurisdiction has been exercised by France or colonial French in these matters.

7. British war vessels have cruised in the waters of the disputed territory for the suppression of the slave trade. A British consul has landed there, and has dealt directly with the native authorities, according to terms agreed upon by himself and the Hova Government, without any reference whatever to France.

8. French representatives have repeatedly blamed the Hova Government for not asserting its authority more fully upon the west coast.

9. France has quite recently imposed a heavy fine upon the Hova Government for a so-called "outrage committed by the Sakalava upon an Arab dhow flying French colours."

Other points might be adduced to show the hollowness of these so-called "just claims," but the above suffice for our purpose.

After Commandant Le Timbre had tried to frighten the Governor of Tamatave with threats of bombardment, he set sail for the north-west, and cut down the

two flagstaffs bearing the newly-erected Malagasy flags. Not a very difficult task, seeing that the Sakalava were not likely to defend them against armed Frenchmen, and the nearest Hova station was several miles distant. He returned to Tamatave and offered the flags to the Governor if he would give him a written receipt for them; which, however, he declined to do. M. Le Timbre then laid an embargo on the *Antananarivo*, the only ship possessed by the Malagasy Government, which was being used as a training ship for some half-a-dozen Hova youths, among them the Prime Minister's son, to fit them to become naval commanders and officers. The vessel was under the command of a Norwegian captain, conversant with the Malagasy language, and with life on the west coast. He had been commissioned by the Hova Government first to make one or two trading expeditions, and then the soldiers told off for service on the west coast would have been appointed, and he was to take them round to their various posts. Hearing of this, and before any intimation had been given that war was likely to be declared, M. Le Timbre sent word to the captain to unbend his sails, and make no attempt to leave the port, that if such should take place, he would fire into the vessel. So for several months the Malagasy were checked in their endeavour to carry out that which the French had again and again reproached them with not doing—firmly establishing their authority on the west coast. Admiral Gore-Jones advised the Malagasy to do this, and the native idea is that he promised help towards the firm planting of Hova authority over the troublesome Sakalava.

The action of M. Le Timbre had results beyond the

mere detention of the Malagasy vessel, for to it may be also attributed indirectly the murder of an American and two others on the south-west coast. Mr. Pakenham, in forwarding to Lord Granville an account of this affair, which is given below, says: "I fear that French consular authority in Madagascar must be held, at least morally, responsible for this outrage, inasmuch as they have prevented the Hova Government from sending troops by sea to the west coast of Madagascar, and thus left all foreign traders there at the entire mercy of unprincipled Sakalava chiefs, who have seized the opportunity to throw off even the nominal allegiance to the Queen of Madagascar."

The account of the murder forwarded is as follows:

"Messrs. Emerson and Hulett, who came *viâ* Natal, arrived at Morondava some months since, and after travelling into the interior from there, came south to Nos Bey, when they procured the services of M. Parent as guide and interpreter. They left Tolia on the 9th instant, with the intention of proceeding to Antanosy. On the following day, about noon, they arrived at a watering-place, where they rested for some time; they here met a number of Bara and Mahafaly people, who had a few cattle, and were apparently on their way to the beach to sell the cattle at St. Augustine's. The natives appeared quite friendly, and nothing hostile was observed in their manners. On resuming the journey they proceeded about half a mile, and were near some trees and bush, when, without the slightest warning, shots were fired, and Mr. Emerson, who was slightly in advance, fell and died immediately; after this out rushed about forty or fifty men (the same that they had seen at the watering-place) with spears, and attacked

AN INLAND VILLAGE AND LANDSCAPE.

(From a Photograph by Mr. A. Kingdon.)

the others; the bearers thereupon threw down their packages and fled to the bush, one African getting speared and killed.

"Mr. Hulett, who happened to be a little way behind, went after one, Antanosy, who was carrying his revolver, but he was afraid to give it to Mr. Hulett, and advised him to run, or he would certainly be killed; as they were alone, and whilst altercating, a party of the natives came on them throwing spears, wounding both Mr. Hulett and the Antanosy in the legs. They were therefore obliged to run. After going some distance the Antanosy dropped the revolver, which Mr. Hulett recovered, and although much exhausted, he turned upon his pursuers, who thereupon went into the bushes and returned to the main body. Mr. Hulett says, that the last time he saw M. Parent he was surrounded by the natives who were menacing him, whilst he was apparently attempting to expostulate with them. But the Antanosy says that he saw M. Parent get a spear wound in the right side. Mr. Hulett, seeing that his feeble resistance would be of no avail, went off into the bush with the Antanosy (Cravat), and they hid themselves till about midnight, when they went back to see if they could find the bodies of their comrades, but could not do so in the dark, so they then made the best of their way towards the beach. On arriving next morning at a village they had passed before on the journey up, they hired some people to carry them to Tolia, where they arrived on Monday evening, the 11th instant, and where they now are, both very ill in consequence of their wounds.

"On the news arriving at Nosi-be on Tuesday, Mr. Allan, an employé of Messrs. H. and F. McCubin,

went to Tolia and hired about twenty men with whom he proceeded to the scene of the murders; and having found and recognised the bodies of Messrs. Emerson, Parent, and the African, mutilated with spear wounds, and both arms of M. Parent either cut or torn from the sockets and carried away, they buried them on the spot, as they were in an unfit state to bring to Tolia, Mr. Allan leaving some marks, so that he would again know the spot, the burial taking place on the morning of the 15th instant.

"Dated September 19, 1882." [1]

Another escapade following the embargo laid upon the *Antananarivo*, and equally with that showing the weakness of French officialism abroad, was the action of the same commander towards an American vessel which came in about this time bringing a consignment of rifles and ammunition purchased by the Hova Government.

The *Forfait* being the only armed vessel in the harbour, her commander seemed to consider that he had full control over all warlike apparatus. He accordingly forbids the landing of these arms; and, in order to see that his command is obeyed, he sends a steam-launch armed with a small cannon in her bows, which is deliberately loaded alongside the American barque and pointed at her gangway, and this while the American flag was flying from the peak. "Next morning a letter from the United States consul brought the *Forfait's* commodore and his compatriot the French representative on shore, up to the American office, with a request for an opportunity of explaining things. "Gentlemen," said the sturdy old Federal Colonel who

[1] *Correspondence Respecting Madagascar*, 1 (1883), pp. 12, 13.

sits beneath the stars and stripes, "I can have nothing to do with you until yonder insult to my nation is removed;" whereupon the launch was immediately taken away; there was much apologising, and many assurances that no offence whatever had been intended, and the rifles and cartridges were landed without the least further opposition.[1]

However, the French acting vice-consul made another attempt to get these rifles into his hands after they had left the American store, and were being carried by the natives to the fort, and it was only by the interference once more of American authority that they were snatched from the hungry grasp of the Frenchmen. This is the way that Frenchmen abroad are trying to show the "nation altogether barbarous," how civilisation ennobles the mind, strengthens the good points of character, and elevates a nation.

[1] *Madagascar Tract*, No. 2, W. C. Pickersgill, Esq.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EMBASSY TO EUROPE.

Embassy sent to Europe—Arrival in Tamatave—Refusal of French to allow it to leave in mail steamer—Departure in bullocker—Arrival at Marseilles and Paris—Their treatment by the special commissioners—Practically prisoners and not guests of France—Departure for England—Reception by Lord Granville—Deputation to Foreign Secretary—Understanding between England and France—Correspondence between the two Governments—Revision of treaty—French unwillingness to allow the right of the Malagasy to make their own laws—Willingness of Ambassadors to modify treaties respecting the land tenure—The *Madagascar Times* on New Land Clause—Only obstacle to the formation of European companies removed—Ambassadors and the liquor traffic—American and British treaties on the imports of rum.

FINDING how impossible it was to come to any arrangement with the French authorities in the island, and feeling sure that events were drifting on to war, the Queen of Madagascar determined upon sending an embassy to the treaty powers and Germany. This was done in the hope that by representing their case clearly and personally to the civilised Courts who had interest in the welfare of the Malagasy, and who had long been engaged commercially with the island, there would be little difficulty in proving that they were morally right, and hence, they argued, there would be a speedy termination of that which was unjust. In despatching this

embassy, it is true, the Queen and Prime Minister had very indistinct ideas, both of the way that diplomatic business is managed by civilised powers, and of the numberless collateral considerations which materially affect the decisions of Cabinets, even when right and justice are opposed by might and rapacious greed. They thought in their innocence that righteousness, and not mere expediency, was the governing principle in civilised Christian nations, and imagined that on the representation of their side of the case, a kind of committee of the different nations would be called to determine what was right, and which of the contending parties was in error, and that then an immediate withdrawal from the false position by the condemned party would result. "Utterly impracticable," we say; but, in principle, are they an age before or an age behind the times?

The embassy consisted of Ravoninahitriniarivo of the 15th honor, and Ramaniraka of the 13th honor, together with their secretaries and aides-de-camp. They were also accompanied by Mr. Tacchi, who had been appointed by the native Government to act as their escort and interpreter. The appointment was signified to the French commissioner soon after he left the capital; and again, in a letter which Ravoninahitriniarivo wrote on July 4, 1882, he mentions the subject in connection with his protest against the action of M. Le Timbre. In this letter he says: "The Madagascar Government has seen with pain the copy of the letter addressed to you by M. A. Le Timbre, declaring that he has seized the flags of the Queen of Madagascar hoisted at Beharamanja and Mahavanona (Bay of Passandava).

"By this note I declare, in the name of the Government of Madagascar, that it protests against this act of Commander Le Timbre, in having forcibly removed the flags of the Queen of Madagascar, hoisted in her kingdom, in despite of the good relations existing between the Governments of France and Madagascar.

"I declare, moreover, that the embassy of the Queen of Madagascar which has already been announced to you, and which will visit the Government of France and the other friendly powers, will not fail to communicate this deplorable affair to the French Government, for the Government of Madagascar earnestly desires the maintenance of the good relations now existing between France and Madagascar, with a view to the progress of civilisation, commerce, and agriculture."

This protest, mild and perfectly reasonable, seeing that this action had been taken by M. Le Timbre before any declaration of war had been made, and while a pretence of friendly relations was still maintained, was treated with contempt by the French authorities in Tamatave, as was also another which speedily followed it, on July 11th, protesting against the embargo laid on the departure of the *Antananarivo* from the harbour, on pain of seizure; and the reasons given for protesting against this high-handed action appear to us perfectly valid:—(1) "The Malagasy people, like those of other nations, have the right to navigate their ships on the sea. (2) The relations existing between the two Governments being good, such a thing ought not to exist at a time when they are on the best terms."[1]

It is a puzzle to others beside the Malagasy to understand the principle upon which the commander of the

[1] 'Africa,' No. 1, 1883.

Forfait acted; and the self-contained way and dignified style of addressing themselves to the subject is not only surprising, but highly commendable in the Hova Government. Without any bluster or precipitate haste, they simply let it be known that while they could not tamely submit to the action of French officials, they were also impressed with the belief that the Home Government of France could not sympathise with it, if they were fully informed of the facts in all their bearings.

In July the envoys arrived at Tamatave, and were received with all honour by the Governor of that place, and application was made, and a passage secured for them on board the *Argo*, the French mail steamer plying between Mauritius, Bourbon, Madagascar and Mayotta. She was expected in a few days, and all preparations were completed by the time she appeared steaming from the north into the harbour. But just at the last moment a note was sent from the commander of the *Forfait* to the agent of the *Argo* (an Englishman), to say that the ambassadors were not to be allowed to go on board, even though their passage money had been paid, and their names entered on the ship's papers. No reason was assigned for the action, and it appears to have been a gratuitous insult offered to them, to show how powerful a man a French Naval Commander is. It was said afterwards that they had not been accredited to the French Commissioner as Special Envoys of the Queen of Madagascar, and hence they could not be recognised as such by leaving in a French mail steamer; and, therefore, they appear to have been considered unfit subjects to take a passage privately on board a vessel plying for passengers of any kind so long as the fare was paid.

They, however, were able to leave in a bullock-steamer after nearly a month's detention at Tamatave, and arrived at Marseilles without further trouble on October 7th, 1882, where they were immediately taken charge of by M. Roux, the Malagasy consul in Paris, and treated with every honour and a considerable amount of courtesy. They were conducted to the capital with all despatch, and a commission, consisting of M. Decrais, M. Billot, and Admiral Peyron, were appointed to confer with them. The first conference took place on October 17, when it became evident that the Malagasy envoys, even if they were called by one of the commission "barbarians," were still possessed of that native keenness which enabled them clearly to discern justice from injustice, and that they were not likely to submit to terms which in the least endangered the welfare and independence of their country. An honest endeavour was made by the envoys to "acquit themselves worthily of a civilised and Christian nation," and to an unbiassed mind they succeeded in putting these qualities in favourable contrast with the action of their detractors. Their own simple but graphic description of the treatment they received in Paris, contained in a letter to Lord Granville, tells its own tale.

"On our arrival in Paris," they say, "we requested to be permitted to pay our respects to his excellency the President of the French Republic, but we were informed through our consuls (who have resigned since our arrival in London) that his Excellency would only receive us after coming to an agreement as to all the matters in dispute. Prompted by a desire for peace and reconciliation, we immediately commenced negotiations with the three special commissioners, and during

six weeks we vainly put forward the arguments and facts, "showing that France had no just claim to any portion of the mainland of Madagascar." On the 26th November the French Foreign Office insisted upon the signing of an ultimatum, by which France would have a right of protectorate over the west coast of Madagascar, with general rights over the whole island.

It appears from the statement of the ambassadors to Lord Granville, that a verbal suggestion had been made to them on the part of the French commissioners, to the effect that the French Government would be satisfied on the "protectorate question" if, "to save the dignity of France, the Hova Government would withdraw their custom-houses from Dalrymple Bay, opposite Nosi-be, for a time, upon the understanding that they should be free to garrison the coast again in a few years' time."[1] The Hova ambassadors, on the part of their Government, agreed to these terms, and desired that they should be reduced to writing for signature. This was nothing but a most reasonable request, and it was acceded to by the French commissioners. But when the document was drawn up and brought to the ambassadors for signature, what was their surprise and disappointment to find that not only had all mention of any provision for the re-establishment of Hova authority been omitted, but the document provided for the establishment of a protectorate over the whole island.

"As it was impossible for us to sign this, and thus betray the independence of our country, we were immediately informed that we were no longer considered as the guests of France, and that our flag must be

[1] Lord Granville's Despatch to Lord Lyons, 1, 'Africa,' 1883, p. 29.

removed from the hotel. Having received this message, and witnessed the removal of our flag against our will, we left Paris for London."[1]

During the six weeks that they stayed as the guests of France, the envoys were practically prisoners; watched and guarded by vigilant sentries in the shape of lacqueys, to warn off the approach of any who might interfere with the right development of the Republic's plans. Some sympathisers, and one or two personal friends of the envoys, went from London to visit them in their hotel, but were not admitted into their presence; and the letters of introduction, even if not opened by their gaolers, were at any rate examined by them, before any reply could be sent to the request for an interview.

After such treatment it is not surprising that a sense of relief took possession of the embassy when they quitted Paris for England, where a very different reception was accorded them, and where they, in common with all nations, found that, notwithstanding differences of opinion politically, no intentional insult would be offered to the flag of those who were accepting the hospitality of the nation.

"Leaving Paris, where they must have felt themselves to be strangers in a strange land, they crossed over to England, and proceeded to London, and there soon found a welcome from missionaries whom they had known in Madagascar, and from a large number of their friends who had long taken an interest in their country."[2]

[1] 'Africa,' No. 1, 1883.

[2] *Missionary Chronicle*, of the London Missionary Society, 1883, p. 12.

On December 2nd the ambassadors reported their arrival to Lord Granville, and forwarded to him their credentials, which accredited them as "Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Her most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India." They expressed the pleasure they felt on setting foot in the country to which they have been so greatly indebted in the past, and gave expression to similar sentiments as a message from their Queen. "The Queen, our mistress," they say, "in confiding this mission to us, has bid us express our feelings of gratitude to a great nation which has ever been the firm friend of Madagascar; and we can assure your lordship that the object of our present visit is to consolidate and cement those friendly relations which have always existed between our respective Governments." The objects of their mission were set forth clearly and succinctly, without implying a request that England would take up their cause, further than would be prompted by her own inclinations, after hearing the statements of the envoys. They simply came to lay "before her Britannic Majesty's Government the unfortunate relations now existing between our Government and that of France," and "to propose a revision of the treaty between Great Britain and Madagascar, whereby we hope to facilitate the commercial relations between our respective subjects, and to settle more definitely any questions upon which there may now exist differences of opinion."[1]

Efforts had been made by the friends of Madagascar to pave the way for the favourable reception of the

[1] 'Africa,' No. 1, 1883, p. 21.

envoys before their arrival on our shores, and to facilitate the objects they had at heart.

The London Missionary Society had memorialized Lord Granville, giving details of the work which has been accomplished in and for Madagascar by its agents from 1818, when its people were found to be warlike barbarians, down to the present time, when such marked progress has been made both socially, politically, and religiously.

Almost simultaneously with the landing of the embassy, a large and influential deputation waited upon Lord Granville, and in concise, telling speeches, such men as Sir Henry Barkly, a former Governor of Mauritius, and Bishop Ryan, at one time Bishop of Mauritius, endeavoured to show why Her Majesty's Government should use its best endeavours to bring about a peaceable solution. This was done by setting forth the increasing trade between Madagascar and Mauritius, which, so far as the imports are concerned, supplies the latter island with many articles of the greatest necessity, as beef, rice, &c.; by noticing that if the French gained a protectorate over the north-west coast, there was little doubt that the remainder of the island would soon come under the same rule, and that rule we are not in the habit of looking upon as very enlightened or friendly. It was pointed out by the Bishop, who was present at the signing of the treaty, in 1862, that Radama was called *King of Madagascar* by M. Dupré. He also remarked that "nothing can be more remarkable than the way in which civilisation has been introduced, chiefly through the efforts of England, into Madagascar. One society that went there found that the natives had no written language; they gave them one. It is not

only the London Missionary Society that is working there, but other societies also. There is a Bishop there. So that in various ways England is endeavouring to promote civilisation."

Lord Granville, in replying, made one or two very important statements bearing upon the case, but which unfortunately have not been acted up to. After noting that the serious attention of this country was first attracted to Madagascar in 1817, when the treaty already referred to on page 81 was signed with Radama I., with a view to the suppression of the slave trade, his lordship made this statement: "In 1850 Lord Palmerston recognised the right of the French to the island of Nosi-be. In 1853–4 there were discussions between the two Governments, which resulted in the understanding that neither would take action with regard to Madagascar without previous consultation with the other. Later on this understanding was recognised. In 1858–9–1862–3 most conciliatory assurances were given. With regard to the French protectorate over a great portion of the island, all I can say is, that, as at present advised, I am not aware of any treaty which gives such a right to France."

A committee was also formed in England, consisting of very many of the most influential friends of Madagascar, and of aboriginal races generally, for the purpose of keeping this country informed of the progress of events affecting the welfare of the Malagasy. It was to co-operate and second the efforts made by the embassy to secure the good-will and good offices of England towards the settlement of the difficulty and misunderstanding between the French and Malagasy Governments. From this committee emanated a couple, at least, of

well-written and exhaustive pamphlets, setting forth in an impartial light the real value of the so-called "rights of France" to a protectorate over the whole or any part of the island. A memorial was also sent to the Foreign Secretary on behalf of the Committee, signed by the Chairman, A. McArthur, Esq., M.P.; the Secretary, F. W. Chesson, Esq.; and the Treasurer, G. Palmer, Esq., enclosing one of the "Madagascar Tracts," drawing attention to one or two matters of importance in the consideration of the matter. The memorial points out that it was impossible for the ambassadors to accede to the demands put forward by the French commissioners unless they were prepared to sacrifice the independence of their country. After reverting to the untenable nature of the claims under the treaty which the French assert was signed in 1840, they point out that "there are five times as many English as French subjects in Madagascar, and that the amount of our trade with the island is quadruple that of the French. The British people, from no ulterior or unworthy motives, have also done much, by means of religious and educational agencies, to promote the civilisation of the native population. They cannot look on unmoved while this good work, the result of large expenditure of money, as well as of many years of labour, is exposed to the risk of destruction; nor can they contemplate without alarm the prospect of Réunion and other French colonies making the north-west provinces of the island the scene of a traffic in African labour, which experience has clearly shown to be another form of the slave trade."

These are the grounds upon which the committee felt itself urged to ask Lord Granville to use every endeavour to bring about a speedy and satisfactory

settlement of the difficulty. It was seen that not only would a war interfere with the continued progress of the Malagasy, but it would also seriously affect the welfare of British residents in the country and our colonists in Mauritius. It was hoped by the committee that France might be willing to submit the case to arbitration, and the misunderstanding be arranged without recourse to arms. It would assuredly have been more to the credit of a great nation like the French, had they thus arranged the matter, rather than to try to obtain a shadowy ray of glory by the overthrow of a weak, struggling nation like the Malagasy.

Lord Granville not only acquiesced in the principle involved in the various requests made to him to exert his influence with the French Government to bring about a peaceable settlement of the difficulty, but he had already made application through Viscount Lyons to M. Duclerc for the grounds upon which the French action in Madagascar was being taken.

Upon the request of Lord Granville, M. Duclerc furnished Lord Lyons with the view of the French Government regarding the proceedings of their forces on the coast of Madagascar. But the only reason given for their action is the most general and obscure. "A long time ago the failure of the Court of Imerina to carry out the engagements which bind it to us gave rise to the commencement of negotiations, during the course of which the Government of Queen Ranavalona has not always shown that conciliatory and favourable disposition which we had a right to expect from it. Meanwhile, we had to draw its attention to measures taken at its instigation which affect the rights secured

to France by the conventions formerly concluded by various independent native chiefs; thus, as a particular instance, the flag of the Queen has been improperly hoisted on territories situated to the north-west of Madagascar which have come under our protectorate by virtue of existing treaties."

With regard to this it may be said, that the Malagasy Government have been most anxious to carry out its engagement with France, except perhaps the French claims of liberty to purchase land. But as this is opposed to the law of the country, and has been so from the earliest times, it is quite certain that the Malagasy Government did not so read the treaty of 1868, upon the letter of which the French base this right. No Englishman ever pretended to have the right of acquiring freehold. Then, with regard to the "disposition" of the Government towards the French subjects, it is well known by those who have lived for any length of time in the island that in their anxiety for peace and goodwill the native officials have granted, against their judgment, French demands, which have not been conceded to Englishmen, because, as the people say, the French seemed to be always anxious to carry some complaint to their consul, which might be made a matter of diplomatic correspondence, with a view to embroiling the two Governments.

Mr. Pickersgill gives a case in point. He says: "I was complaining to the Prime Minister of a Frenchman being permitted to retain possession of land which he had obtained illegally, whilst I and others had been obliged to comply with the law, and I was begged to look at the matter from a Malagasy point of view. 'You see how we are situated,' said the Prime Minister.

'If we offend a Frenchman, he immediately appeals to his consul, and the consul threatens us with bombardment. We regard you as our best friends, but have oftentimes to treat you with scant consideration, in order to keep the peace. If all the threats of bombardment made by France's representatives had been put into execution, there would now be little of the island left above the surface of the Indian Ocean for anybody to claim.'"[1]

With regard to the latter part of M. Duclerc's communication, it has been shown in the last chapter how much "independence" was enjoyed by the chiefs with whom France treated, and how much value was to be attached to the right of protectorate.

In reply to this, Lord Granville sent a request to the French Government, asking to be informed to what treaties M. Duclerc alluded, "as ceding to France the protectorate of certain territories on the north-west coast of the island." This request for information was tendered on August 28th, but no reply being forthcoming Lord Granville writes again on October 7th to Mr. Plunkett, who addresses a note to the French Government mentioning the former request, and stating that "as at present advised, Her Majesty's Government are unaware of any treaty stipulations in virtue of which the French Government claim territorial jurisdiction over any part of the mainland of Madagascar," and also intimating the fact which Lord Granville also mentioned to the deputation who waited upon him in November. "Your excellency," says Mr. Plunkett to M. Duclerc, "is also aware that the understanding between Great Britain and France has hitherto been,

[1] *Madagascar Tracts*, No. 2, p. 15, by W. C. Pickersgill, Esq.

that the two Governments should maintain an identic attitude of policy in Madagascar, and act in concert in the matter, and your excellency will have no difficulty in understanding the regret with which Her Majesty's Government would view the advancement, on the part of France, of any territorial claims which might be calculated to disturb that understanding."

Still the French President did not feel himself called upon to answer the question, nor respond to the intimation of the arrangement for an "identic attitude of policy on the part of the two Governments." Offers were made by the English Government to act as mediators, but M. Duclerc took umbrage at the repeated offers of assistance in this direction on the part of this Government, and instead of urgently remonstrating against the indignity put upon an Anglo-French agreement, the Foreign Secretary tried to explain away his own words, lest France should be offended at England asking that agreements should be acted upon.

The iteration of the idea of mediation seems to have offended the extreme sensitiveness of the French minister, who replies, "The English Government exactly appreciates the state of affairs when it rejects the idea of offering a mediation which the differences do not admit of. This declaration dispenses us from laying stress upon another expression in the English note. I do not know what the English Government means by 'to press their good offices upon the French Government,' but to us this expression is untranslatable in French, for the word which would be the literal translation would be absolutely inadmissible." [1]

Lord Granville, in reply to this, sends the explanation,

[1] M. Duclerc's Despatch of January 4th, 1883.

"that the phrase was only intended to convey that Her Majesty's Government, while they were ready to give their assistance in bringing about an understanding, had no desire to put forward an offer of such assistance if it was not acceptable to France."

An admirable letter of Dr. Dawson Burns to Lord Granville expresses very much the same feeling. He says, "It follows, that in acting alone, and in a manner injurious both to Madagascar and ourselves, the French Government had violated this understanding, and had exposed itself to such urgent remonstrances as should not have been without practical result. If it be asked whether we were prepared to go to war for such a cause? the answer is clear, that long before the question of peace or war would have come up for consideration, France must have receded from a position alike offensive to England and menacing to Madagascar. The position of France in Europe is such as not to render her careless of the good or evil opinion of England on a subject in which her course is so manifestly wrong; and I cannot but think that a tone at once temperate, but emphatic and earnest, would have issued in a change of policy averting the bombardment of Tamatave, and the cessation of intercourse between Madagascar and all friendly powers."

It seems to have been a case pre-eminently suited for friendly arbitration, more especially as M. Duclerc declares that the conference with the Malagasy envoys "was broken off on the question of the right of property, and on the interpretation of the clauses of our treaty of 1868, which secures the benefits of it to our countrymen." The Malagasy have shown themselves willing, in the revision of the treaty with England, to make

very considerable concessions on this matter; and if it was on this ground only that the negotiations were broken off, it seems to have required nothing but the "offices of England" as mediator to have brought about a peaceful solution. M. Duclerc's statement, referred to above, from his despatch to M. Tissot, to be communicated to Lord Granville, is altogether at variance with the statement of the ambassadors, and is negatived by their action in England and America.

It is true that by the revised treaty Englishmen cannot acquire the freehold of land in Madagascar, but they are at liberty to make leases for any length of time mutually agreed upon between them and the owners. Thus, for all practical purposes, the difficulties of planters and settlers are met satisfactorily. It is against the law of the country for a Malagasy to sell the freehold to a foreigner, and this law was in force long before the signing of the French treaty in 1868, which is a fact now forgotten by the French Ministry. It is one of the "ancient laws and customs of the country, that foreigners cannot maintain a fee-simple title to land in Madagascar," and the only ground on which France claims it, is based on Article IV., which provides that "they shall be able, as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and in conformity to the laws and customs of the country, to settle wherever they may deem advisable, to lease land, to purchase all kinds of personal property, and to engage in all commercial and industrial operations which are not interdicted by the Government of the country."

It is difficult to understand how the French can on this article, circumscribed by the well-known law of the land, claim a right to purchase the freehold of

property. Neither can this law of the Malagasy be looked upon as an outrageous assumption in opposition to foreigners. In this country, as Lord Granville argues with M. Duclerc, only a few years ago no alien could possess the fee-simple to real property, and the only compromise that could be resorted to in such cases, was to grant such leases as would convey as nearly as might be all the advantages of a freehold. Yet, despite European usage, even when backed by the customs of such a country as England, the French are not willing to admit that the Malagasy have any right to their own laws, if they happen to fall foul of the greed of French adventurers. For M. Duclerc maintains that "as to the right of property, the domestic legislation of the Hova nation cannot override the engagements resulting from a convention regularly concluded." (Surely it is the interpretation of the convention which is sought here to be used to override the domestic legislation.) "The convention is the only rule applicable to the relations between the two contracting Governments."

The correspondence in the Blue Book shows how much the ambassadors had been led to expect from the advice and help of England. And the carefully guarded expressions of cold sympathy send a thrill of pity to the heart, for those who, in their endeavour to act in righteousness, serving their God and the country He has given them, met with so little encouragement, notwithstanding the concessions they were willing to make in the interests of peace and the spread of Christianity.

That the land question need not have been treated as such an insurmountable obstacle to peace is seen by

the willingness evinced by the ambassadors to admit alterations in the existing treaties giving greater facilities to the foreigner. The wording of our own revised treaty referring to this matter is very clear and broad: "Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar fully allows her subjects the right of renting or leasing such property according to their own pleasure, and according to the terms of time and money which may be agreed upon between lessor and lessee. But it shall be distinctly understood that Malagasy subjects are prohibited by the laws of their country from the absolute sale of land to foreigners, . . and Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar engages that British subjects shall, as far as lies in her power, enjoy within her dominions full and complete protection, and security for themselves and for any property which they may so acquire in future, or which they may have acquired already before the date at which the present article shall come into force."

In the American treaty the fact that foreigners cannot own land is clearly stated as a kind of preamble to a like concession to the above. "According to the laws of Madagascar from all time, Malagasy lands cannot be sold to foreigners, and therefore the citizens and protégés of the United States of America are prohibited from purchasing lands in Madagascar." To an impartial onlooker there is no further cause for insistence on more liberal terms. For all the practical purposes of trade and commerce these concessions are equal to a freehold possession—any length of lease that the owner and foreigner can agree upon, and no Government interference to prevent an indefinite number of renewals.

It is interesting to note under this head, that the

Madagascar Times, published in Antananarivo, bears witness to the effective working of the new clause. In the issue for April 2nd, 1884, is the following paragraph: "Every one that we know of who applies for land gets it. The Americans are procuring land on the basis of their new treaty, and inform us that they are very well satisfied.

"We are informed that the Malagasy Government is preparing a thorough system for providing Governors with printed forms and registers, and for appointing a commissioner whose work will be to visit outlying districts and regulate all matters connected with the leasing of land.

"As to Crown lands, let the foreigners who require lands make out their application with all the straightforward and formal precision that is exacted in other countries; let that application be submitted to the Governor of the district and to the consular representative there (if there is one). If hindrances or un-called-for delays are wilfully thrown in the way, or flagrant acts of bad faith are evident, then let appeal be made to Antananarivo, and we are certain no person who wishes to have land will be refused."

This is just the kind of assurance which has always been wanting hitherto. Companies have again and again been talked of, for planting, cattle rearing, and manufacture, but they have never been developed because of the insuperable difficulty regarding the land. But under the present provisions of the treaty, the only obstacle to the success of such companies in Madagascar, so far as the native Government is concerned, has been removed. Apart from present disturbances with the French, there is no reason why

coffee, rice, vanilla, spice, sago, and fibre planting should not be carried out on a large and highly profitable scale, while the vast extent of prairie and pasture land presents a tempting prospect for the formation of cattle ranches in a country where fat oxen can be purchased from three dollars and upwards, according to the district.

While the ambassadors made on behalf of their Government concessions regarding the leasing of land, all well-wishers of the abriginal races will rejoice in the improved position of the liquor traffic conceded to them by the British and American Governments. For years past this has been one of the crying evils in Madagascar, especially on the coast. England has gone with her arts and civilisation, with her missionaries and the Bible, to raise the barbarians and christianise the heathen, but at the same time she has allowed her subjects to import into the country the rum which was to undo much of the good she was trying to accomplish.

When on the way to Madagascar for the first time, I was told in Mauritius by the representative of one of the largest firms, that "the trade with Madagascar was spoiled, and had been ruined by the missionaries." I quietly dissented, but, not knowing anything of the country then, I could say very little; but I remembered it is usually admitted that each missionary going to an uncivilised country like Madagascar is the pioneer of civilisation, trade, and commerce, all of which accompany the introduction of Christianity. I could now answer my informant by saying that it is not the missionaries, but themselves, whom the merchants must thank for the want of speedy progress in commercial pursuits, and that rum has been the means they have employed

to spoil the trade. Rum always finds a ready sale here, and fetches a good profit. "It is," to use the expression of a trader recently in Madagascar, "as good as ready money;" and this tempted the first importers.

Missionaries in the interior of the island deplore the effect upon their people of the manufacture and sale of native rum; but that is a very mild spirit compared with the fire-water which was poured into the country from Mauritius and Bourbon, to the ruin of the Betsimisaraka. It is manufactured from molasses and the refuse from the sugar mills, and is so crude and cheap that it can be retailed in Tamatave at from fourpence to sixpence per quart. There is great difficulty in ascertaining the quantity imported; but from Mauritius alone during the year 1881, no less than 10,087 barrels, containing more than 462,915 gallons of this vile produce, were brought to the country and landed on the east coast and Nosi-bè.

The native Government has again and again tried to restrict the trade, but its efforts have been ineffectual. But it has done something by forbidding, and to a certain extent preventing, the introduction of the rum by the natives into the central provinces. The barrels, too, received as customs duty—which for this, as for all other commodities, is paid in kind—were returned to Mauritius, to be sold there on account of the Government, a silent though ineffectual protest against a trade which the Hova Government was unable to resist, but which civilised nations upheld by superior force, to the utter ruin of both body and soul of the poor ignorant natives, who are too inexperienced to resist the temptation of drinking themselves to death by the product of foreign commerce, the so-called civiliser.

But not only are the people being ruined body and soul, not only are they becoming so debauched that they cultivate barely sufficient rice to supply their most urgent wants, but they fail utterly to supply that most pressing demand of the foreign merchant and planter, the labour market. As long as 10,000 barrels of rum are introduced in one year, and drunk by a people numbering not more than three-quarters of a million, it is in vain for the planter to look for constant, regular, and trustworthy labour among these people. But this is the lowest view of the matter. There has been a higher and graver responsibility resting upon the British nation, who with one hand have sent the Bible and the missionaries to teach these people, and with the other have poured into the country that which washes out at one sweep both the moral and religious life of the natives, and conducts them to an early grave. It is to the disgrace of those speaking the English tongue that it was their voice which was uplifted to prevent the native Government from imposing a higher duty upon this importation, and so restricting in some measure the evil effects upon their people.

But the envoys succeeded in obtaining such concessions from the English and American Governments as will enable them in a great measure to reduce the amount of spirit imported, or at any rate so increase it in price, as to render it less accessible than hitherto, to the very poorest.

The clause in the American treaty is by far the most liberal, and is not hedged in with any limitations. "In regard to alcoholic liquors, the Malagasy Government may regulate the importation according to its pleasure;

or prohibit the importation altogether; or limit the importation as required; may levy as high a duty as it may see fit, or make it a misdemeanour to sell or give such liquors to certain classes of its subjects." We could have wished that the corresponding article in the British treaty had been equally favourable to the native Government's desire to restrict this traffic.

The first article in the new rum Treaty, signed May 25th, 1883, says:—"Spirits of all kinds may be imported and sold in Madagascar by British subjects, on payment of the same duty as that levied by the Malagasy excise laws upon spirits manufactured in Madagascar. The scale of excise duty to be levied upon spirits manufactured in Madagascar shall be communicated by the Malagasy Government to her Majesty's Consul, and no change in the excise duties shall affect British subjects until after the expiration of six months from the date at which such notice shall have been communicated by the Malagasy Government to Her Majesty's Consul." The third article states that:—"The Malagasy Government may stop the importation by British subjects into Madagascar of any spirits which on examination shall be proved to be deleterious to the public health, and they may give notice to the importers, consignees, or holders thereof to export the same within three months from the date of such notice; and if this is not done, the Malagasy Government may seize the said spirits, and may destroy them, provided always that in such cases the Malagasy Government shall be bound to refund any duty which may have been already paid thereon."

This opens a wide field for misunderstandings, and will prove a fruitful source of disputes, while, consi-

dering that there is at present no excise duty in Madagascar, every facility is given for evading the payment of customs duty on the rum. And what is wanted is not a treaty to prohibit "*deleterious*" spirit, but one which will make good spirit too dear to be used by the poor people in the excessive way it has been in the past. To the Malagasy, who never drink spirit except in such quantities as render them intoxicated, all spirits may be legitimately deemed "deleterious" by the philanthropist. Once or twice during a residence of thirteen years in Madagascar, I have known an excise duty to be imposed of one shilling on every bottle of spirit manufactured; but it has been almost a dead letter, and if levied at all, which is doubtful, it has soon lapsed, most probably because the highest men in the kingdom were not averse to enrich their own coffers by the manufacture and sale of the native rum.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES.

M. Baudais leaves the capital—Bombardment of north-west coast—Rejoicing of French in Tamatave—Native accounts—Effect in Tamatave—Description of Tamatave—Meeting of British subjects—Circular of French vice-consul—M. Baudais' reply to H. B. M.'s Consul—The *Creuse*—French officer's attack on British subject—Governor prepares for struggle—Ambulance—Unfavourable reception by French authorities.

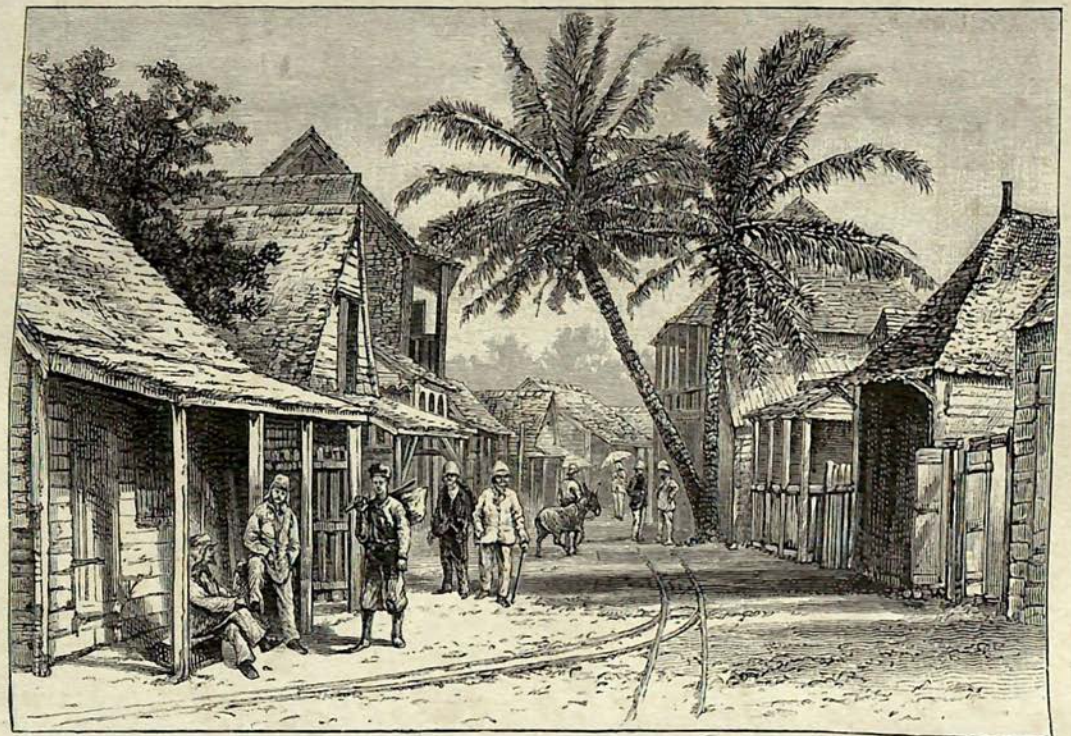
SOON after the hauling down of the Malagasy flags on the north-west coast by the French, M. Baudais and his secretary left for Tamatave, and shortly after his arrival news was brought by the *Argo*, the French mail packet, of the bombardment of several towns and villages on the north-west coast. Great excitement immediately showed itself among the French and Creole inhabitants, who have nothing to lose, and may gain by these troubles. It was rumoured that Anorontsanga, Ambodimadiro and other places had been shelled and burned to the ground. Hand-shakings, gesticulations, and loud talking were the order of the day among the French subjects, and great was their boasting of the prowess and bravery of Admiral Pierre, who had, it was said, reduced the above-named places without losing a man, whilst the enemy had lost 1,200.

M. Baudais quickly repaired to the Fort at Tamatave,

and in reply to a question of the Governor said he had received a letter from Admiral Pierre, giving an account of the bombardment; "But," said he, "that is not my business, but Admiral Pierre's. I am your friend, and when the Admiral comes here he will do nothing that I do not sanction." But, as the *Government Gazette* states, in commenting on this speech, "such a foolish excuse as that could be understood even by an idiot, for it can be seen that all they do is done unitedly."[1] An endeavour was made, without committing himself, to give the Governor the idea that he, M. Baudais, did not approve of the action of Admiral Pierre, and that nothing of the kind was likely to take place at Tamatave. This was evidently done for the purpose of lulling the Governor into a false security, and of insuring the neglect of any precautionary measures.

It may be well here to give an idea of what had really taken place on the north-west coast. On May 7th Admiral Pierre arrived off Anorontsanga, and sent messengers on shore, who met with the Governor at the custom-house. They informed him that he, his officers and soldiers were to leave the place, and take down the Hova standard; and that if they did not clear out in four hours the place would be attacked. The Governor answered that the land belonged to Ranavalona, Queen of Madagascar, and that he had received no orders to fight against the French. He asked them also to produce the Sakalava whom they said had given them the land. But long before the time assigned, and before the women and the sick could be removed, even while the Governor was still at the custom-house, the bombardment commenced.

[1] *Ny Gazety Malagasy*, No. 1, p. 3.



WESTERN END OF ROYAL STREET, TAMATAVE.

The firing was continued until Anorontsanga and the adjacent villages and towns were destroyed.

On the same day a French man-of-war appeared at Ambodimadiro, and the custom-house officers boarded as usual. They were told that the captain had a message to send into the town. Accordingly the Governor met the messengers at the custom-house, and he was told to vacate the place with his soldiers within two hours, "for the land belongs to the Sakalava," they said. The Governor was ordered to haul down the flag, but he answered in similar language to that of the Governor at Anorontsanga; and in about half an hour, while the custom-house officers were still on board, the place was bombarded, before the sick, the women and children had had time to leave.

All in Tamatave waited in the greatest anxiety for the arrival of the French men-of-war that were expected soon to make their appearance in the harbour. The women and children began to leave the town, to take refuge in the interior. The events of the succeeding fortnight after the above news had been received in Tamatave will best be understood if I make extracts from my journal kept at the time; but it may help to a better understanding of the situation if I first describe in brief the town. Tamatave is built on a long narrow peninsula of sand, having an eastern direction, with very deep bays on either side: that on the north forming the harbour in which ships of the largest size can find a secure anchorage. On the peninsula are built the houses of the European and other foreign settlers, the largest facing the principal street, Royal Street, which runs east and west down the centre of the town. Here are found the British,

French, American, German, and Italian Consulates, with the houses and stores of the principal merchants. In another street running parallel with Royal Street, a little farther south, live a few storekeepers, artisans, clerks and others. Still further south is the Betsimisaraka part of the town, in which the houses, built in defiance of all regularity, are composed for the most part of rushes or bamboo. In the centre stands the house of the Betsimisaraka prince, in whose compound is erected a flagstaff upon which is hoisted the flag of the Queen. For the first 500 or 600 yards the compounds of the owners on the north side of Royal Street reach to the sea beach, but beyond this the street bends a little to the south, and leaves room between the yards of the traders and the beach for the native bazaar. Here a great number of little houses as well as stalls covered with thatch were huddled together, in utter disregard of all sanitary precautions, and in a way to give every facility for the whole place being consumed if a fire broke out in any one of the houses.

Behind the bazaar to the west, still keeping the direction of the main street, stands the London Missionary Society's chapel, built of wood, and the church of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a little further to the north. At the north-west of these buildings, about 1,000 yards distant, is the Hova fort, already described, and beyond it was the soldiers' town, with another L. M. S. chapel in the centre. Following Royal Street for about a mile from the beach, one found another native town, inhabited chiefly by strangers from the capital, and those who made a living by supplying the wants of these travellers. In the soldiers' town were about 130 houses, and in the latter town,

Antanambao, about 100, the chapel being on the north side. Between Antanambao and the main street are several detached houses occupied by foreigners whose business is in town, the most distant of these being the one occupied by myself.

My compound is large, occupying about 1½ acre, in which stand the dwelling-house, of wood, a bungalow used as dispensary, school-room and store-house, having at one end a belvedere, from the top of which a good view is obtained of the whole country round, as well as of the harbour and the sea to the south. Near to Antanambao and south-west of my house, which I rented from Mr. Aitken, is a long tract of country covered with low bushy trees, and extending as far as Ivondrona.

Turning now to my journal I find that:—

On Saturday, May 19th, the people heard the news brought by the *Argo*, and no small alarm was felt among them. Some seemed afraid that the French ships of war were then on their way to Tamatave, and that at any moment they might be attacked. Our pastors and Church members were frequently at my house asking for details, and if such and such a rumour they had heard was likely to be true. I did my best to reassure them, and begged them to rest patiently and trustfully till they were actually in presence of the danger, and not try to meet it halfway: a piece of advice much more easily given than followed. Many were too frightened to remain in Tamatave, and left in haste either for Imerina or for some country place at a safe distance from the probable field of danger. Some, however—the evangelist, the schoolmaster, one of he pastors, and the girls' school-teacher—begged to be allowed to take shelter in one or other of the out-

buildings in my compound. This, after some hesitation, and not without some dread lest I should in this be overstepping the boundary line of duty as a neutral, I at length promised; and a look of considerable relief took the place of the scared, frightened gaze with which they came to plead for the small protection I was able to offer. (Very fortunate was it for me that subsequently I was able to induce all those Hovas who were not actually soldiers to leave the coast, and retire inland, for had they remained, there might have been in the eyes of the French some cause for the charge they first tendered against me.) I was engaged during a great part of the day in receiving and allotting space in my house for the goods of those who are, in a certain way, dependent upon the Society, and who have thus some right to claim our help and sympathy. Before night my house looked more like a warehouse than a mission-house, with boxes and trunks and even furniture stored round the walls, leaving me but a small space in the centre.

Foreigners, both French and English, are flocking in from the country, where they have been residing, in order that they may place themselves under the protection of their consuls and the men-of-war which are riding at anchor in the harbour here. T. C. Pakenham, Esq., H. B. M.'s Consul, called a meeting this afternoon of all the British subjects at the Consulate, in order to give advice and instruction. But in the present position of uncertainty very little advice could be expected further than that "all the British subjects should in the prospect of war endeavour to keep themselves calm, and not listen to every report they hear, many of which may eventually prove to be untrue, and all of them

exaggerated; but that care should be taken regarding all contracts and agreements with the natives."

There is little doubt that this meeting was called, and such instructions given by H. B. M.'s Consul, as the result of a circular which had been addressed to French citizens on the east coast of Madagascar by the acting French Consul and Commissioner, M. Raffray, in which he stated that the difficulties between France and the Hovas, of which all were aware, "were about to be cut short." He further goes on to say, "I do not think there is any occasion to entertain any disquietude But, following the counsel of Admiral Pierre, I have thought that there is occasion to warn you and to recommend you to be prudent."[1] Notwithstanding this official communication from the French Consulate, bearing date May 2nd, no warning whatever of impending danger had been given to the British Consul, in order that he might give a like caution to the subjects of Her Majesty, and so place them on an equally secure footing as the subjects of France. But it is quite possible that this official circular is only another instance of the petty officialism and wanton interference that have had no small influence in hurrying on the present complications with France; for the substance of the information given in the Acting-Consul's letter is denied in a letter sent from M. Baudais, the French Commissioner, soon after his arrival at Tamatave, to Mr. Pakenham. In this he says, "Complications between the Government of the French Republic and that of Queen Ranavalona II. are possible, but they are not imminent, as you appear to believe. You may rest assured, M. le Consul,

[1] Despatch of C. T. Pakenham, Esq., H. B. M.'s Consul, dated May 17, received June 16, 1883.

that when the time comes I shall give you notice of the situation which the attitude of the Hova Government may create for us. For the time being you may, while counselling prudence, reassure your fellow-subjects both as to their own safety and as to their commercial undertakings. As regards the tranquillity of Tamatave, I have communicated with the Governor, and I have the assurance that it will not be disturbed."[1]

Notwithstanding this letter to the British Consul, the circular of the French Vice-Consul was not recalled; and hence, while carefully cautioning and preparing the French residents, an endeavour was made to impress upon the British community the uselessness of disturbing the existing relations with the people, and that nothing was necessary for perfect safety further than common prudence.

On Sunday, May 20th, there were scarcely any people in the churches; in fact, as compared with the usual attendance, the buildings looked empty. Very few women were present, their husbands having taken the precaution of sending them and their children into the interior. Even some of the soldiers deserted at the distant prospect of war, and at least one man of honours was discovered trying to make his escape across the river, at Ivondrona, and was brought back in disgrace. The excitement, although not apparent on the surface, was, nevertheless, very intense; and this remark applies equally to the foreigners as to the natives. This morning, a savage, perhaps drunken (we will charitably suppose so), attack was made upon a Mauritius trader, a British subject, by an officer from one of the French men-of-war. The latter demanded, in an officious tone, to know whether the former was a British or a French

[1] May 21, 1883.

subject, seeing that he was engaged in supplying provisions to the *Dryad*. The Mauritian not deigning to answer such a question, tendered in so offensive a tone, turned his back upon his interlocutor, for which the Frenchman used the equally polite argument of the fist, and knocked the other down, afterwards adding injury to the insult by throwing the stores out of the boat into the sea. It is but just to the French authorities to say, that this act of outrage was visited summarily upon the head of the offender, who was placed in irons until the Admiral's arrival.

During the ensuing week nothing of note occurred. The Governor and officers have to the best of their ability been preparing for the coming struggle and time of distress. The fort has been prepared, and guns placed in prominent positions, rough earth-works have been thrown up, and trenches have been dug around the main fort, and means of communication between these and the forts along the coast have been secured by covered passages. Seeing that there was a probability of war, and this being the time for making provision, I set about arranging for an ambulance and a hospital. A house was secured for this purpose, flags made, and badges with the Geneva cross upon them made for the arms of those to be engaged in the ambulance service. Upon representations being made to the Governor of Tamatave, he collected his soldiers in the fort, and asked me to bring there one of the badges as well as a flag, in order that all might clearly understand what was the sign by which they would know those who were employed in the beneficent occupation of attending to the wounded. Hearing that in civilised warfare no one wearing these crosses on the

arm, or moving under the shadow of that flag, were wilfully injured, they one and all gladly consented to follow this humane custom, and abstain from any attempt to molest or impede in their work any so engaged, even though they might be Frenchmen carrying arms against them. Having obtained so satisfactory a concession, which certainly would not have been given twenty or five and twenty years ago, before Christianity and civilisation had so altered the national character, by their softening and humanising influences, application was then made to the French Commissioner. He was informed of the facts stated above, but his reply was very far from what was expected. He said, "If you like to establish a hospital and hoist the hospital flag over it, or form an ambulance corps, why, I suppose you are at liberty so to do; but I do not at all think that the Admiral will respect either the hospital flag or the badge on the arms of your men, as we are not warring against a civilised nation, but a nation altogether barbarous."[1]

[1] No opportunity occurred of testing the policy of either party, yet it certainly reflects great credit upon the "savage" nation that they were quite willing to respect the Geneva cross, even though worn by their enemies, the French, while the sentiment so discreditable to the highly civilised nation was all the guarantee that could be obtained for the safety of myself and native workers. I ought perhaps to say that beside my direct mission work of teaching and preaching, I have been compelled, from the nature of the climate as well as the facility thus afforded for finding one's way to the people's hearts, to give considerable attention to medical duties and the dispensing of medicine. Three times a week the sick folk to the number of twenty or thirty came to the consulting room in the bungalow, and took their prescriptions to the evangelist in the dispensary, where they received their medicines. It was therefore natural that the people should request that some provision might be made for any wounded in the coming struggle.

Notwithstanding this unfavourable reception of a scheme which we supposed would be probably as useful to the French as to the Malagasy, I consulted with the missionary in charge of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's station in Tamatave, and together we made arrangements to meet the case of any sick or wounded. Bandages were prepared, splints procured, and by the kindness of Captain Johnstone, of the *Dryad*, who, in his justifiable anxiety to give no cause for offence to the French authorities, could promise us no help from his surgeons, yet permitted us to borrow a couple of stretchers for conveyance of the wounded to the hospitals.

On Sunday, the 27th, it was found that after the first scare a great many of the people had returned to their homes in Tamatave, and we had much better congregations, with a large proportion of women. They had but taken refuge in the villages inland, fearful of the immediate consequences of the presence of the French. But, although back in Tamatave, the worshippers showed no more confidence in the pretence of peacefulness on the part of those whom they have long regarded as their greatest though secret enemies. A restless anxiety was plainly depicted on each countenance, and the position of all was one of the most painful suspense.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FRENCH ULTIMATUM.

Arrival of the *Flore*—Ultimatum sent to the Capital—M. Baudais' visit to Governor—Difficulties of communication with the Capital — Roads — Fever — Rivers — Crocodiles — Ultimatum arrives in Capital—Its terms.

On Thursday, May 31st, the *Flore*, the flagship of Admiral Pierre, came in sight, and anchored in the harbour near Point Tanio at about 4.30 A.M. She brought news of the capture of Mojanga, which is now in ruins. The accounts describing the bombardment and capture of that town, which is by far the largest port on the north-west coast, are very conflicting. All, however, concur in stating that the natives made a stout resistance, but bravery and pledged loyalty were no match for the shells fired from the long range guns of the French men-of-war, and the simple defenders of their country were compelled to take to flight.

On Friday, June 1st, we heard that M. Baudais, the French Commissioner, and Admiral Pierre, had sent an ultimatum to the Hova Government in the capital. This had been anticipated, because it was known that M. Baudais had been to the native Governor in the fort, to demand, amongst other things, that relays of couriers should be placed on the road to Antananarivo, to faci-

litate the dispatch of communications to and from the Government.

The journey from Tamatave tō the capital is usually accomplished by foreigners with light baggage and in a palanquin in eight to twelve days. But Government letter-carriers cover the ground in about four days; while, with relays waiting at each large village, avoiding any delays either by night or day, messages can be sent in two and a half or three days. The actual distance is about 200 or 220 miles. I have known one Government carrier to complete this distance, under promise of reward in a matter of urgency, in two days and a half. This is not only remarkable as an instance of endurance, but also of hardihood, in overcoming the difficulties of the way.

There is no road other than a beaten tract, which in some places is impracticable to feet shod with European boots, both from the clayey nature of the ground and the steepness of the mountains over which the path leads. There are no bridges; the rivers and almost innumerable streams are crossed either by fording or in canoes. There are no inns or places of entertainment on the way, and the villages are few and far between. Hence the certainty of a supply of food when needed for the hurried messenger is often very remote. There are also certain positive perils to which he is exposed, that must be looked upon as the causes of the total disappearance of some messengers. There is the fever that Radama I. looked upon as one of the defences of his country, to which all are exposed, and which to travellers in the forest regions often proves fatal.

The Malagasy fever, resembling somewhat the jungle fever of India and that of Zanzibar, is of the inter-

mittent type, usually tertian. It is caused by the system imbibing malarial poison from the numerous swamps and lakes surrounded by luxuriant tropical vegetation, the leaves from which, falling into the water and decaying, generate, under the fervent heat of the sun, the noxious gases and fever germs that some suppose to be the cause of the malaria. According to one medical authority, for many years resident in Madagascar, these fever germs can be discovered any night by taking a portion of water from the surface of a swamp and examining it under a microscope, when there will be found to be present minute vegetable organisms that are never present during the daytime. If it be correct that these microscopic plants are the germs of the fever, it will help to account for the well-known fact that it is positively dangerous to remain in some places at night, that are perfectly harmless during the sun-light.

When first attacked the victim usually suffers considerably, passing through successive stages of cold, heat, and subsequent perspiration, with diminution or cessation of fever. The first illness may last a fortnight or three weeks, and leaves behind it a prostration and depression extremely difficult to bear patiently, with occasionally more disastrous legacies, such as enlarged spleen or congested liver. All subsequent attacks are very much less violent in form, though very wearing to the system: but, having once contracted the disease, the patient is always liable to a return of the attack; and although quinine—almost the only known remedy—acts in a remarkably beneficial way in the majority of cases, yet it does not prevent a recurrence of the fever, even after the patient has left the neighbourhood of the

malaria and has taken up his residence in Europe. "Killing the fever" has been heard of in some parts of the world by the administration of excessive doses of quinine; but the experiment has not, I believe, been tried in Madagascar.

It is a curious fact that although those born in a particular tract of malarious country are fairly exempt from its noxious influences, yet, not only are foreigners to the country attacked by the fever, but natives from other parts of the island are alike subject to it, notwithstanding that they may have lived in another unhealthy tract, and been there free, or *fever-proof*, as the Malagasy have it. So in Tamatave, of the 600 soldiers who arrived in company with the native Governor in 1882, to form the garrison, quite three-fourths were attacked by the fever and suffered severely, although very many of them had come from a swampy part of the central table-land, and had either had the fever, or, being born there, had not been subject to it, and were considered fever-proof. On the coast, too, the disorder sometimes assumes the malignant or typhoid form, and is usually fatal. However, after the first attack, it is considered by medical authorities to be very rarely dangerous, with proper care and treatment, if there are no other co-existing complications, and it is neither contagious nor infectious.

Another cause of the difficulty of communicating with the seat of government is the state of the rivers, especially at certain seasons, when they are swollen into roaring torrents by the drainage of the plateau during the months of rain in the interior. Canoes are frequently upset, and the urgent traveller is swept away in the impetuous stream; and even in the

shallower waters, where it is customary to ford, many a weak or over-fatigued messenger is lost, never to be heard of again, amongst the white foaming water dashing among the rocks in the rough bed of the rapids, or devoured by the crocodiles lying at the bottom of the quieter but still more treacherous pools.

Crocodiles (*Crocodilus Madagascariensis*) abound in most of the rivers, and, especially near the coast, are a real terror to native travellers. They attain a great size, and are by no means the timid creatures which some writers have represented them to be. They belong to a distinct species from those in Africa, and they are not, as some have supposed, identical with the caiman or alligator of South America, which has a much larger snout, irregularly sized teeth, and partly webbed feet. They are so voracious as to well deserve the name which has been applied to them, "sharks of the rivers;" and although they usually attack their prey in the water, where they are quite at home, yet cases have been known of their following children on shore. Every year many cases occur near Tamatave of mutilation or death from these terrors of the rivers.

Between the time of the commencement of hostilities on the north-west and the bombardment of Tamatave two cases were brought in fearfully mutilated by these reptiles. One of these, a boy, had merely put one leg into the centre of a ditch over which he could easily have leaped in the day-time. A crocodile must have been lying very near the spot. It took the boy's leg in its mouth, severely wounding him above the knee, the flesh of the thigh being terribly torn in the efforts of the boy to extricate it; when the animal made its next snap it took him in the shin, and afterwards in the

ankle. Fortunately, the poor fellow did not faint till he had extricated his leg and had crawled or hopped away to a safe distance. Only a month or two before a crocodile seized one of our school children, who, in company with a number of his playmates, was bathing near the bank of the river. His companions for some time thought he had but dived in his play, and it was not till they saw a splashing some distance down the river that they guessed what had happened and raised the cry for assistance. Canoes were soon manned and chase was given, but all too late, for not until the following morning was the body discovered, a couple of miles down the river, and partly devoured.

It is no wonder that such creatures should have struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants, and that in their heathen state they should have regarded them with a certain amount of awe and even reverence, and that a great deal of superstition should have surrounded these monarchs of the rivers and streams. No native would, a few years ago, have dared to kill a crocodile, fearing disaster to himself or family from the survivors of his reptile enemy. At a certain village I heard that a crocodile in the neighbouring river had committed many depredations upon sheep, dogs, and pigs belonging to the villagers, and I offered to go and try to shoot it if one of them would come and show me its haunt. But not only was a guide refused, but my informant commenced to speak in whispers, saying that otherwise the crocodile would hear, and would in vengeance take one of his children for speaking disrespectfully of him.

"But," I argued, "if I kill him it will be all right."

"No," said he, "for then his relations would come and execute their will upon me or my family."

As civilisation and enlightenment have been making themselves felt, so the superstitious dread of destroying these scourges of the water has been losing its hold on the people, who do not now scruple to kill all they are able to master. The crocodile has other enemies, in the shape of rats, hedgehogs, serpents, and birds, the first two of which devour its eggs, and the others its young.

Such are some of the difficulties to be met with by the Government letter-carriers, whose duty frequently compels them to travel by night as well as by day, through river and marsh, forest and jungle, over soft burning sand and sharp-cutting rocky mountain-paths, scarcely stopping either for rest or food, until the end of the journey is gained. The greatest respect is paid to these men, both on the road by the villagers, who are bound to supply them with food, and also by those to whom they are sent. They are admitted at once on arrival, whether that be during the day or in the night, to the palace, if sent to the capital, or into the fort, if bearing a message to Tamatave, and their credentials and despatches examined.

The ultimatum from the Commissioner and Admiral arrived three days after its departure from Tamatave, and was delivered into the hands of the Prime Minister on June 4th. Its terms were:—

"The French Government, animated by a sincere desire to re-establish as quickly as possible those relations of peace and friendship with the Government of Her Majesty Queen Ranavalona II. which have united them for so long a time, have resolved on employing all means for protecting the position they

have obtained in Madagascar, and have given orders to the undersigned to make known to the Government of Queen Ranavalona the conditions upon which henceforth the good relations which France desires to preserve with this Government can be kept up:—

"1. The Government of the Queen must positively recognise the rights of sovereignty or protectorate over certain territories which treaties concluded with Sakalava chiefs confer upon us. These territories extend from Baly Bay on the west to Antongil Bay on the east, rounding Cape Amber.

"2. The 85th law, in complete contradiction to Art. 4 in the treaty of 1868, shall be repealed, and the Queen shall engage herself to give formal and immediate guarantees, which the Commissioner of the French Republic, who is furnished with full powers by his Government for settling this question, shall make known to her at the proper time and place, in order that in future the right of ownership of or of leasing land for a very long period can be exercised with all liberty by French citizens.

"These conditions shall be the object of a special treaty, for the signature of which the Government of Her Majesty Queen Ranavalona II. shall engage to send within fifteen days a plenipotentiary to the place which the Commissioner of the French Republic shall appoint. This plenipotentiary shall also have the powers necessary for accepting such changes in the treaty of 1868, or any part of it, if there be cause for such, as the Commissioner of the French Republic shall propose to him.

"3. The Queen's Government must engage to pay, within thirty days of the receipt of the present ulti-

matum in Tamatave, into the hands of the Commissioner of the Republic, the sum of a million francs, being two hundred thousand dollars, for indemnity due to the French citizens.

"The undersigned, immediately the present ultimatum is accepted, will make known to the Government of Queen Ranavàlona II. the conditions which they demand as guarantee for the execution of the clauses enumerated above. These conditions are not presented to the Government of Ranavalona II. as matter for discussion, but for reply by a 'Yes,' or a 'No,' within eight days. This time has been thus calculated: Three days for the journey from Tamatave to Antananarivo (200 miles), as many for the return journey, and two days for reflection.

"The undersigned have received from their Government the formal order not to give the least margin in the time fixed. If, then, the answer be ambiguous or incomplete, or if it should not be received before midnight of the ninth to the tenth of June by the Commissioner of the Republic, who will transmit it to the Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Division of the Indian Ocean, then Rear-Admiral Pierre will be obliged with regret to open fire on the defences of the town of Tamatave, to take possession of it, and also to destroy all Government establishments of Her Majesty Queen Ranavalona on the east coast of Madagascar. The custom-house at Tamatave will be occupied, and the custom dues will be collected by the French authorities to the amount of the sum claimed, and as long as the above-mentioned complete satisfaction is not obtained.

"Ulterior measures will be resorted to for the future guarantee of the right of ownership of land to our

citizens. The results on the north-west coast of the operations of the Rear-Admiral, Commander-in-Chief in the Indian Ocean, are of a nature to show the Government of Queen Ranavalona II. the power he possesses to carry out his designs.

"In the name of the Government of the French Republic the undersigned openly declare that the Government of Queen Ranavalona II. and the Prime Minister will be held responsible for all that may happen throughout the extent of Madagascar, both to French citizens and others, of whatsoever nationality. Whatever may befall them, directly or indirectly, as to their lives, liberty, possessions, families or family possessions, would occasion the demand of indemnities the amount of which will be fixed by the undersigned, and of which the payment will be at once demanded.

"If the Government of the Queen, after having accepted the conditions of the present ultimatum, should cause intentional delay in the accomplishment of one or several of their promises, or if the plenipotentiary should at any time withdraw, on account of the insufficiency of his powers, hostilities will commence without further summons being given.

"The undersigned have the strong hope that the Government of Queen Ranavalona, in accepting conditions the moderation of which it would be difficult to deny, will free them from having recourse to the employment of stronger measures, and nothing will cause them greater satisfaction than to be spared the necessity of useless bloodshed.

"(Signed) "M. BAUDAIS, *French Consul.*
"M. PIERRE, *Rear-Admiral.*"

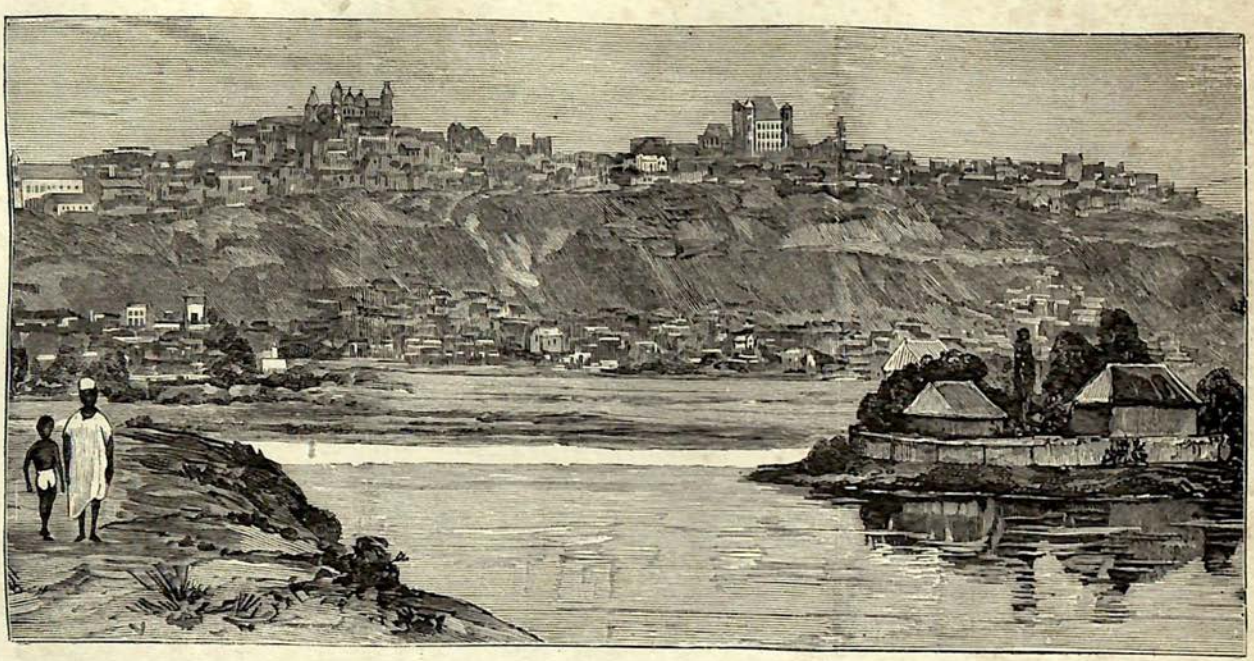
CHAPTER IX.

EFFECT OF THE ULTIMATUM IN ANTANANARIVO.

Effect in the Capital of French action on the north-west coast—Notice to British subjects—To the French—Seventy French subjects taken safely to Tamatave—The people not such barbarians as Admiral Pierre thought them—Kabary—Proclamation of the Queen—Speech of the Prime Minister—The Answer to the Ultimatum.

WHEN the news first arrived in the capital, that the north-west coast had been bombarded, it was scarcely believed. In fact, it was not until it was known that official notice to that effect had been received by the Government, that anything like conviction took the place of incredulity in the minds of the common people. French consuls had so often threatened the Government, and had held before them a picture of the horrors of bombardment on their coast, in order to enforce some French demands, that, now the threat had been carried into execution, it seemed impossible of belief.

Soon a scare evinced itself among the foreign residents. What was to be the effect of this hostile action of the French Admiral upon the natives in the capital, and how would it affect them in their relations towards the Europeans? Some of the latter had been long enough in the country to have witnessed the savage nature of the people stirred to its depths in the



ANTANANARIVO, FROM THE WEST.

revolution at Radama's death, and they knew there was cause for fear. Others had heard of the extent of cruelty to which the Hovas had been addicted in their wars with the other tribes, and they dreaded lest this spirit might break through their profession of Christianity, and kindle the mad passions of those who knew that foreigners were engaged in burning their villages and killing their defenceless fellow countrymen. But the religion of the Hovas was not a mere form, put on for the occasion, or for pleasing the Queen, and their conduct at this trying time most conclusively proved that the missionaries' work had affected their hearts and lives.

The Prime Minister called the foreign residents together, telling the English, Norwegians and Americans, of whom there were 185 in all, that the Queen had bid him say to them that as they had always been the friends of Madagascar, they need have no fear; she would protect them from molestation and their property from destruction. She, however, asked them to live as near each other as possible in one quarter of the town, that they could be the more easily guarded. This was done most effectually by the Prime Minister sending a guard of soldiers into each compound, as a watch for the night. No subject of the above nations has had any cause of complaint; all has been perfectly quiet and orderly in the capital, notwithstanding the stirring and exciting events that have been transpiring on the coast.

The French subjects were informed that, as an Admiral of their fleet had destroyed Malagasy villages after having insulted the Hova flag, it was unwise and even unsafe for them to remain in the country. The

Government had no quarrel with them personally, but as they belonged to that nation which had acted thus, it would be impossible for the Queen and Prime Minister to guarantee their safety in the capital indefinitely. But, in order that it might not be said they were driven out of Antananarivo, five days were allowed them to make the necessary arrangements for departure, during which time the Prime Minister undertook to protect them. The five days having expired they were told to leave; and, evidently with the idea of representing themselves as expelled, and badly treated, they left without any bearers. All were walking, and the priests and lay brothers were carrying bedding and other necessaries.

The Queen, hearing of this, sent for them, after they had proceeded some distance on the road, and told them that they were to have bearers; and, as they could not induce any men to go with them for wages, she would supply them with a sufficient number to carry their women and children, with their baggage. Nor was this all, for had the Prime Minister and Queen abstained from doing more, it is very doubtful whether any of those seventy French subjects would have reached the coast alive. But more was done; a guard of soldiers with officers went with the party. They supplied the travellers with houses and food, and defended them on the journey for about three weeks. Doubtless they had many annoyances and inconveniences to suffer, arising from travelling with such a large company; but all travellers in Madagascar have to put up with troubles and privations incident to the route. But the native officers behaved nobly: for although while still on the way they heard of the bombardment of Tamatave and

the destruction of the native town, yet no harm befell them. Although their French compatriots in Tamatave, who despised the Malagasy as a "nation of barbarians," had given up all hope of seeing them again, and though they had to be passed through the lines of the Hova soldiers, west of Tamatave, which they were besieging, yet they were delivered up safe and sound to the French officers.

No one could have blamed the Malagasy, had they kept the French as prisoners, and prevented them entering the town, where to a certain extent they would be able to give information respecting the Hova forces and their position. But the Queen had said that though they were fighting the French, these priests and sisters of mercy must reach the coast in safety; and, to use the Rev. G. Cousins's words, "Christianity triumphed, the influences of civilisation triumphed, all got safely down, and we thank God for it; but we recognise in that the forbearance of the Malagasy."

Another instance of the forbearance of the natives is given by Mr. Cousins. He says that, "After the French began to knock down those little places on the coast, a vessel went into one of the ports in the south, intending to get produce. The native officials, according to custom, sent off one or two of the officers, to make enquiries as to the name, owner, object and destination of the ship, and to give them *pratique*. Those officers were not allowed to go on board; they were told to go about their business; not a single one of their questions was answered. They were told that for them to go on board a French ship, asking such questions, was an insult to the French flag. They were told to be off, and they went. That night it began to blow, and the

ship drifted towards the coast, which is a very dangerous one. The commander of the garrison—for there was a garrison there—all his officers, all the people at once went to the rescue; they did their utmost to save the French captain and crew from destruction, and they succeeded. They had been told to go about their business a few hours before; now they were politely thanked for their offices. That was forbearance, and that is a fact which means a good deal. It really indicates the spirit in which these people have acted. They have been anxious to avoid war, and they want to be at peace, but they are determined they won't give up their country."

A proclamation was issued calling the people together into the capital, to hear from the Queen how matters stood between her and the French. She was also anxious to consult them on the future course to be pursued. This is the first time, probably, that the people have been called upon to give their voice in the management of the State. It is the first shadow of a popular voice in the Government; but we may fondly hope that, having been once admitted thus, the principle will always be recognised, and the regular practice of some form of representation of the people in the Government will surely ere long develop itself. Under the late Queen, harsh despotism lost its rigour, justice and moderation assumed the sway, and the sovereign was revered and even loved by a contented and happy people, progressing rapidly in freedom and civilisation.

On June 7th the people assembled at the usual meeting-place, and the Prime Minister delivered the Queen's message:

"You are assembled here, O ye people, at the time appointed for your coming together. Well, we have been sent as messengers from our sovereign, Ranavalomanjaka; and this is what she has commanded us to tell you. In accordance with the proclamation I issued to you on Wednesday (the day before), she says: I commanded you to come together, and you have come, O my people, at the appointed time, for you did not disappoint me, Ranavalomanjaka. You are told to come by day, and you come by day: you are told to come by night, and you come by night: you are easily guided, for though many you do not overtax one's powers; though a multitude, one's voice grows not hoarse in addressing you. Therefore I thank you, O my people, for I have fathers, I have mothers having you. May you live long, enjoying all prosperity, blessed by God!

"Now this is what I have to tell you: We made a treaty with the French, and agreed to be friends, and not foes. Moreover the treatment they have received, the respect and deference shown to them, you have both seen and heard, for even in matters where forbearance was not due, forbearance was shown, in the hope of strengthening friendly relations. When a dispute arose here in reference to certain claims they advanced, and a settlement of these became impossible, we sent Ravoninahitriniarivo and his companions as an embassy. And although this involved a heavy expenditure of money, I did not lay the burden upon you, O my people, lest any of you should be lukewarm in the matter; and I acted thus from my unwillingness to have any of the blood of the children of my people uselessly shed in the land. The greatest forbearance

was exercised, that justice might be secured, and from an unwillingness to fight with foreigners; however, although we exercised this forbearance and used all suitable means (to prevent war), they have now attacked Anorontsanga and Mojanga.

"Now, upon attacking Anorontsanga they informed Rainimiraony (the Governor) that if he did not evacuate the place within four hours they would bombard him. But Rainimiraony replied that the country belonged to Ranavalomanjaka, and that he should not leave, and that if they bombarded him that must be their affair, for he had not yet received any instructions from the Government here at Antananarivo telling him of a rupture of friendly relations between the two Governments, and that he was to engage in war with the French. He added that it was not because he was not in a position to retaliate that he refused to do so, but simply because he had no instructions to that effect; and he asked Admiral Pierre to produce the Sakalava who claimed the country as theirs, as that was not a matter in which the French had any right to interfere.

"At Mojanga, again, they told Ramanbazafy to clear out within an hour, leaving all arms behind him. Ramanbazafy replied that he should not go, and thereupon was attacked. Women and children besides invalids were still in the place, and the destruction of private property was great.

"A little later on came a despatch from Rainandriamampandry (Governor of Tamatave), stating that M. Baudais and Campan had been to the fort to make enquiries, and to inform him that, according to rumours, the Malagasy intended to set fire to the houses of the foreigners in Tamatave. Rainandriamampandry told

them, in reply, that the laws of the sovereign of Madagascar condemned evil-doers, and that if any one did as they said, he would be guilty in the eyes of the law; and on his part Rainandriamampandry asked them about the bombardment of the northern ports by the French men-of-war, without previous negotiations, and while friendly relations still existed. To this Baudais answered, that he, too, had heard of this, but that was no concern of his, but Admiral Pierre's. 'Moreover, there would soon be important business in hand,' he said; and he told Rainandriamampandry to see that relays of couriers were properly stationed for conveying despatches up and down the country.

"Well, on Tuesday the 'ultimatum' arrived from Admiral Pierre and M. Baudais. It is a lengthy document, but these are the points to be submitted to you:—They claim a third of Madagascar, and demand two hundred thousand dollars; moreover, the time allowed for answering their despatch is eight days; that is, three days for conveying it to the capital; two for considering its contents; and three for conveying the answer to the coast; and in the event of our not acceding to their demands, or of the answer not arriving in time, or should Rainandriamampandry make any military preparations or move any troops, then they would bombard and destroy all the ports on the east coast. Now, shall we yield to their demands, or what do you think we should do?"

Then the people refused with a loud shout, saying, "God forbid that we should do that!" They stood up one after another, and made speeches, tribe by tribe, protesting against any cession of territory to the French, though but of the size of a grain of rice. In

many different speeches they showed that they did not in the least shrink from death in defence of their country, and they begged for guns and spears, and that every able-bodied man should be drilled, so that one and all might fight in defence of the father-land.

The Prime Minister spoke again as follows: "This also I have to say, sirs. You have heard the demands of the French, and liberty of choice has been given you, O ye people, as to whether they should be acceded to or not, and I see that you refuse. Now this is the message the sovereign entrusted me with: When you have heard the people's reply, and they do not accede to the claims of the French, but reject them, then say this to them: All countries have been divided out by God, that each nation may possess its own, and God gave this land to my ancestors, and has now entrusted it to me. This country had its boundaries fixed by Andrianimpoinimerina, and was conquered by the prowess of Radama I. Our grandfathers were maimed and hindered in those days, as they carried into execution the purposes of Andrianimpoinimerina; yea, some of you now present were there, and saw these things with your own eyes. And this kingdom has been governed in justice and righteousness, and the way in which I have ruled over it you have both seen and heard. We made treaties with foreigners across the seas, nay, whether we had treaties or not, all foreigners have received respectful and honourable treatment; and even when they did things that grieved us I have borne with them, from my desire to see wisdom advancing in this country. All foreigners who have made treaties with us have acknowledged that

Madagascar belongs to me; and even the French acknowledged this in the treaty they made with me in 1868. Yet now the French say, 'A third of Madagascar belongs to us.'

"Therefore I say to you, O my people, that if this country, which God has entrusted to me, the country where my ancestors rest, and where the bones of your forefathers lie buried, is claimed by others, why, then I stand up in defence of the goodly heritage God has given me. God made me a woman; but when any one tries to seize the heritage He has given me, and the country subdued by my ancestors is disturbed, then I feel strong to go forth as your leader, for I should feel degraded, O my people, were I not to defend the heritage which God has given me.

"This is a righteous war in which we are engaged. I have made every possible effort to maintain friendly relations; I have borne and submitted to things that no one could have expected me to bear. I am not invading others, nor seeking to destroy others, but I am invaded by others, and others are seeking to destroy me. Fear not, therefore, seeing that you have the right on your side, for if those who are unjustly invading, and claim what belongs to another, have no fear, much less we who are defending our own. I have all confidence, therefore, O my people, for the right is the weapon with which we are defending this country, and the issues of war are in the hands of God. Is it not so, O my people?"

"It is so," said the people.

"I have no wish to excite you, but report says they will come up here (into the interior), and will break open the tombs where your forefathers and your

fathers rest, that they may seize your property; for the wealth of the Malagasy, they say, is to be found in their tombs. Now can you bear that, O my people?"

Then the people replied with a loud shout, "God forbid that we should do that!"

The Prime Minister spoke once more, saying, "The proclamation of the sovereign has been announced to you, but I also have this to say to you, O ye people:—I watch over the interests and person of the Queen, and possibly some will be saying:—'Will the Prime Minister be going to the war, and no longer watch over the interests and person of the sovereign?' Let me tell you that when my father and mother begat me, it was that I might protect and honour this country; so side by side will we fight, and I will make this body of mine as the rampart of Madagascar.

"Were we fighting for that which was wrong, even though we said we would fight, there would be cause for fear; but when, as in our case, it is for the right, there is nothing to fear; for should one die in that, it would be an honour to die defending one's fatherland. All of us must die; and if we are to die defending our fatherland, why, that is the portion which God has allotted us. Or, may be, you have not the courage to defend the inheritance God has given you."

"God forbid!" said the people.

"I declare here, in your presence, that I dare defend this country; I call you to witness what I say: We will fight side by side; so do not be faint-hearted or alarmed because of the prowess of the French, or because of the number of their cannon and rifles, for there is God looking and judging what is going on. The

French are a great nation; but shall this make us afraid to maintain the right in defence of our own? God forbid! for until the last man has been cut down, they shall never be allowed to have this country. Is it not so, O ye people?"

"It is so!" said the people.

"And this, too, is the message of the sovereign: The people belonging to the nation that is fighting with us have now all gone, and only those who are on good terms with us remain: so I tell you this, that you may all know it."

We require no clearer indication of the spirit of child-like dependence upon God which has been growing among the people, than the tone of this proclamation. There is no fiery denunciation of their enemies, no attempt to stir up angry feelings, or to rekindle the dormant savagery of the half-civilised villagers; and no argument is used but such as would commend itself to the judgment of the most highly civilised nation in the world. There is nothing but the laudable desire to defend their own, "that which God has given them," from unfounded and unjustifiable claims. They have determined—and those who know the Malagasy character know full well that their determination will not be shaken either by the bluster or the cajoling of their enemies. And, understanding the character of the French claim, one can only pray that the "God who is looking and judging what is going on" will direct the course of events into paths of peace, righteousness, and prosperity.

The day following the "Kabary" an answer was sent to the French Admiral, couched in the following terms:—

"Antananarivo,
"June 7th, 1883.

"SIRS,—

"The 'Ultimatum' you sent to the Government of the Queen of Madagascar on the 1st of June, 1883, has been received; and in reply to it this is announced to you:—

"The Government of the sovereign of Madagascar is grieved, for it does not see how it can carry on negotiations with you in reference to other matters, unless it has the assurance that you acknowledge that Madagascar belongs to its (*i.e.* the Government's) sovereign. Your Government recognises this fully in the treaty made between the two kingdoms in 1868.

"As one among other proofs of this may be instanced the claim for indemnity recently made at Marambitsy by the French Government in the affair of the dhow *Touélé*, that being within the territory now claimed in the 'Ultimatum.'

(Signed) "ANDRIAMANIFY,

"*Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs.*

"To M. BAUDAIS, *French Consul;*

and

"ADMIRAL PIERRE, *Rear-Admiral.*"

CHAPTER X

BOMBARDMENT OF TAMATAVE.

Meeting of British subjects at the Consulate at Tamatave—Formation of Vigilance Committee—Natives hope to draw fire of French ships into European quarter—Liberty to go on board the *Dryad*—Watch on shore—Bombardment—French landing—Town burnt—Houses looted—Other ports bombarded—Imprisonment of Mr. Shaw—Of H. B. M.'s Consular clerk—Death of Mr. Pakenham—Arrival of French Consul from Zanzibar—Release of Mr. Shaw—The *Stella* from Mauritius—French Ministry not responsible for Tamatave incident—Expression of regret spontaneous.

On Monday, June 4th, a deputation from the British residents waited on Mr. Pakenham, at the Consulate, by appointment, to seek official advice with respect to the critical position of affairs in Madagascar. At their request an invitation had also been sent through the Consul to Captain Johnstone, of H.M.S. *Dryad*, to meet them, and assist with his practical and valuable advice the objects of the deputation. One of their number having been previously appointed president, he introduced the deputation, and, according to the advice obtained, a standing committee was formed. Steps were taken to provide shelter and provisions for indigent British subjects coming in from the country, and to bury all petroleum, rum, &c., that might prove dangerous to the general welfare of the place, in case of fire.

On June 6th notice was sent to the British subjects that they were at liberty to go on board the *Dryad*, if they wished, and that boats would be waiting at the beach to carry them off with their personal effects. The French subjects had been already ordered to go on board the men-of-war lying in the harbour.

It was currently reported that the natives had been advised, when the bombardment commenced, to take their soldiers into the foreign part of the town, and thus draw the fire of the French upon the foreign property; as it was said:—"If you do that you will embroil the French with the other powers; and so while they are quarrelling you will be left alone." As president of the committee, I was asked to go to the Governor, partly to ascertain if this were true, and to endeavour to dissuade the Malagasy from this course, which I was fortunately able to do. The people decided not to adopt that course, and thus the town was saved from ruin, as the Admiral had determined to "blow the whole place to pieces and respect no one's property or flags if the Hovas came down into the town."

Tamatave from that time had the appearance of a deserted town, and anything more desolate it is scarcely possible to conceive. Shops were closed, and neither native nor foreigner was to be seen in the streets. All was silent and, but for the life in the harbour, dead. Here and there from the corners of the streets one would see a pig or two, in pure indifference to the altered state of affairs, prowling about looking for food in the place of that which they had failed to obtain as usual from their masters, and not at all disconcerted by the strange quiet—the calm that preceded the storm. Numbers of fowls and ducks escaped from their yards, and, con-

gregated together for company, were to be met with, only waiting to be appropriated by those who could drive them into their own premises.

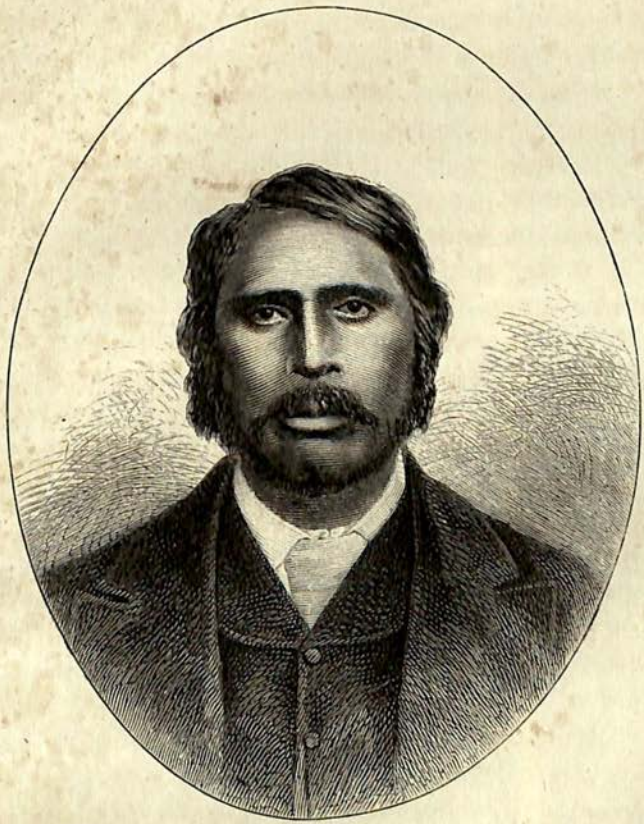
On Saturday morning our usual prayer meeting was held; and as it was felt by all that, most probably, it would be the last time we should be able to meet together, seeing how unlikely it was that any service could be held on the following day, it was unusually well attended. In fact, with the exception of the few necessary sentries, all the natives in Tamatave were present from the Governor downwards. Those who engaged in prayer were influenced by no feeling of the vindictive war-spirit; there were no prayers for the lives of their enemies, and no cries for vengeance upon them. Prayers for a righteous vindication, for guidance, for faith to trust where they could not see, and for eventual peace and goodwill, were the only petitions heard in Tamatave on the eve of the bombardment. And although the poor fellows knew that in a few hours they would be houseless and homeless, driven away by those who were trying to take their country from them, yet they acknowledged that their Father's hand was guiding all things, and would make all things work together for good to those who love Him.

During the day I heard that in the event, which was looked for, of the answer to the ultimatum being unfavourable to the French, the Malagasy intended to retire during the night inland, and not attempt to oppose the French whilst under cover of the guns of their vessels. That night there was very little sleep for any of us who remained on shore. The time for the reply to the ultimatum to arrive expired at midnight. At about 11 o'clock P.M. a native messenger

brought a letter to the French Commissioner, and very soon afterwards he went on board the *Flore*, and there remained. Therefore we knew that the answer had arrived, and that it was a refusal to grant the absurd demands of France. We formed ourselves into a watch, to co-operate, in case of necessity, with the Consular guard from the *Dryad*, and waited, anticipating that at any moment the bombardment might commence.

The Consular guard referred to above consisted of a body of twenty marines, sent by the commander of H.M.'s ship, to ensure the safety of the person of H.B.M.'s Consul, and of the archives under his charge, as also to be ready, in case of emergency, to render assistance to the British subjects who remained on shore. The squad took up its quarters in an out-house adjoining the Consulate; and constant communication was kept up between the officer in charge and the sailors lying in the two cutters off the landing-place. These were kept in watchful readiness to receive British subjects remaining on shore, should it be necessary for them to accept the refuge offered by the man-of-war, in case incendiaries in force should simultaneously fire the town at different points.

However, to the agreeable surprise of all, the night passed quietly, and at daybreak all was quiet. At 6.15 A.M. one of the French vessels, the *Nièvre*, left her moorings, and steamed round into the south bay, in which she had been taking soundings for a day or two previously. As soon as she was anchored in position, the *Boursaint* fired the signal gun, and the tricolour was run up to each masthead, and the bombardment began. Six vessels, the *Flore*, the *Creuse*, *Beautemps-Beaupré*, *Nièvre*, *Forfait*, and the *Boursaint*, were engaged



RAINANDRIAMAMPANDRY.

15th honor, Governor of Tamatave.

(*From a Photograph by Mr. A. Kingdon.*)

in throwing shot and shell into and beyond the fort for an hour and a half, as quickly as they could fire, although no answering shot was fired from the shore. The first shell from the *Forfait* fell into the native bazaar, and soon a column of smoke and flames showed that it was on fire. Almost at the same time a shell from the *Nièvre* burst among some native huts on the south-west of the town, and fired them. Antanambao, the native town near my house, followed, and other fires close to Mr. Aitken's house (where I was staying, as my house was exposed to the cross-fire of the *Flore* and the *Nièvre*), showed that the natives were making an attempt to burn down the whole foreign portion of the town. At the same time an explosion took place in the custom-house; and presently a couple of natives were seen making their way out to the back of the town, after having lighted the train communicating with a barrel of gunpowder, placed there for the destruction of the premises around the custom-house. About 7 o'clock, fortunately, rain began to fall, and the fires were rendered harmless to the surrounding buildings. At 7.45 firing ceased for an hour, and then re-opened more slowly, and continued during the remainder of the day. Fresh fires broke out during the afternoon, and raged throughout the night. During the cessation in the morning, some of us who had been watching the extraordinary display of six large men-of-war shelling the deserted and silent forts and town, went out to the neighbourhood of my house. But just as we arrived abreast of the soldiers' town, the fire there broke out again; and fearing that the *Flore* would re-open fire upon it, suspecting the presence of natives, we turned to retrace our steps. This we had scarcely determined upon, when shells

from the fleet once more poured into the place. At another time in the day, an attempt was made by some of us on shore to prevent the fire in the bazaar from spreading into the foreign portion of the town; but while walking along behind the houses, and in view of the French ships, a shell was fired, and burst not more than twenty yards in front of us, injuring a part of the S. P. G. premises.

During the afternoon M. Baudais and his Vice-Consul were rowed near to the beach, to ascertain, from those who had remained on shore, the condition of the town, and if there were many natives about. Although they heard that there were none to be seen even near the fort, they were not willing to trust themselves on shore, but speedily returned to their ships, and firing continued.

Sunday night was an anxious time for us, as the town was in flames in different places, and as the French had not sufficient confidence to land, take possession of what the natives had left for them, and protect the property of the Europeans, whom they had deprived of their wonted protectors from robbery and incendiarism. No guns were fired during Sunday night, and every facility was thus given to wandering bands of robbers for pillaging and burning the town. All the Englishmen on shore formed themselves into a watch, to give the alarm and prevent anything like a concerted attack or general conflagration.

On Monday, as soon as it was light, the boats of the fleet were seen stretching in a long line from the bows of the *Forfait*, on the stern of which we had seen the scaling ladders rigged during the Sunday afternoon. About 6 o'clock the boats began to move towards

the shore under the continual fire of the *Boursaint*, which sent shells and shot into the battery and beyond it, and also across the Point Hastie, to the south, into the Betsimisaraka town. One company of the French landed at the custom-house, and made their way through the town by the street south of the Rue Royale. The remainder landed in the utmost confusion on the beach opposite the British Consulate. A more disorderly landing can scarcely be imagined; the men all seemed to be talking and shouting together, and the officers seemed to be chiefly engrossed with the problem of how to get through the surf without wetting their boots. One company was told off to make directly for the fort along the beach, while the remainder marched in fours up the main street, dragging with them two small brass guns, and provided with field telegraph and hospital gear. In little less than an hour, signal flags were hoisted at the flagstaff in the fort; at the same time we could see from the roof of the house, where we had kept watch during the night, that a squad of marines was on the sand-hills near our house.

Several of us then went up, and found that the servants who had taken refuge in the cellar were well, though much frightened, three or four shells having burst in the garden on Sunday and done some slight damage. We went to the top of the belvedere, and could distinctly see the Hovas leaving their inland fort and magazine, Manjakandrianombana, about three miles from Tamatave, and taking a southerly direction along the ridge of hills stretching away to Imahasoa and the river Ivondrona. We walked through the town, in order to ascertain the amount of destruction, and found that very few if any of the natives had been

killed; at any rate, no bodies were to be seen except those of two who had been killed by bayonet thrusts, having been suspected of attempting to fire the town. But a fearful scene of destruction was presented, houses even of Europeans pierced by shells and partly blown up, others with the roofs broken to pieces; while the native houses were either burning or consumed during the past day. The various domestic animals that had perished were lying about in all directions; but scarcely one of the host of dogs that used to make night hideous could be seen. Near one house we found a couple of kittens, who had lost their mother, being nursed and tended in a touching way by a pig who had, we presumed, lost its litter in the conflagration. Considering them as curiosities, we looted the kittens, much to the pig's annoyance, and carried them home.

Another curious sight met our eyes when we went on board the *Dryad*, to let Captain Johnstone know how matters stood on shore. The decks were literally full of British subjects, and the greatest credit is due to the commander and his officers for the orderly arrangements made for the comfort of such a large company in addition to their own crew. In fact, from the commencement of hostilities, the British commander proved by his courteous firmness that he was just the man required to deal with the brow-beating tactics of the French Admiral towards the English officials; and that while he was ever ready to accede to all the legitimate requests of the French, he had no intention of abating one jot of the respect that ought to be paid by officers of one power to those sailing under the flag of another and neutral nation. The British residents at Tamatave owe a debt of gratitude to Captain Johnstone for the

timely and clear-headed advice he was able to give them, and for the determined and plucky way he conducted British affairs placed in his hands, whilst at the same time every effort was evidently made by him to act courteously towards the French authorities, and not wound their extreme sensitiveness.

On Monday night, after the first watch had passed off quietly, and remembering that the French troops, having landed, would be, or ought to be, a protection to the town, we relaxed our efforts, and discontinued the watch for the remainder of the night. But in the morning, while we were standing on the verandah of the house, two of the servants who had been left in my house were seen coming down the street, and informed us by their scared faces, before they came near, that something had happened. When they arrived, we heard with dismay that the house had been entered during the night, and goods stolen or broken. We went off immediately to ascertain the extent of the damage, informing H. B. M.'s Consul, *en route*, of what had occurred. It appears that the robbers had broken open the front door, and had evidently searched either for papers or money, as furniture was broken and cut open, indicating that a search had been made; but how much had been carried off it was impossible to say.

From what we could ascertain, it seems that the commander of the fort drew in his pickets at night close round the fort, thus leaving a free passage for the natives, who were lurking about for pillage, or for firing the houses, to enter the town unopposed. In fact, we heard that a message had been sent to the commander of the *Dryad*, from the Admiral, to say that the latter would hold the former responsible for the town,

because he had sent a guard on shore to protect the archives of the British Consulate. It seemed as though the French commander would not have been sorry if the natives had entered the town to pillage and burn it, as every facility was given them; and an attempt was made to throw the blame upon the English commander.

Leaving my house to return into the town, I saw a squad of French soldiers seize upon a couple of natives, and compel them to march before them towards the fort. Fearing that, in the absence of a knowledge of the language, some misunderstanding might lead to the men being shot, I offered to translate for the corporal. This he accepted with thanks, and, in their examination, the men said they were only stealing from the houses of the Hovas, and said this in such a way as to give both my companion, a European, and myself the impression that they had heard from good sources that they would not be punished by the French for such acts.

My servants being now thoroughly frightened, I removed them to Mr. Aitken's house, as sending them away into the country was very much like exposing them to certain death. I was the more ready to do this, as the men had stayed with me at my request, to assist with the ambulance, if such should prove necessary, and having stayed, I felt bound to do the best I could for them. Others had made attempts to keep their servants, but had failed.

On Tuesday night the house and bungalow were again broken open, and furniture, papers, &c., were scattered all over the compound. My landlord had gone during the afternoon to ask the commander of the

fort to put his picket, which he had placed near, in my compound, as it occupies a commanding situation. I also went with him to offer a room for their accommodation, on consideration of the protection to my remaining furniture, and of the saving of expense and trouble of transporting it all into the town. This he roughly refused, saying, he was not put there to protect our property, and should place his pickets where he liked.

Accordingly, on Wednesday, with the help of my own men and Mr. Aitken's servants, I commenced to remove what furniture remained to his house in the town; but on Wednesday evening the commander of the fort sent to Mr. Aitken to say that at 8 o'clock on Thursday morning a picket of soldiers would be placed in my house. At 6.30 that morning another European and myself went together to the house, and found that during the night, not only had the premises been ransacked, goods stolen, and furniture destroyed, but the cellar, containing, among other stores, some bottles of claret, and the dispensary, containing a great number of medicines, had been entered, and the bottles either broken, stolen, or thrown out into the garden. We at once collected together all we could find, and sent them into the town. We were just completing this work when the picket arrived, and orders were given to haul down our flags. The French flag was hoisted at the fort, and Tamatave declared to be in a state of siege. Various decrees promulgated by the Admiral were attached to conspicuous places in the town. Amongst them was one appointing the French Vice-Consul to be Mayor of Tamatave; another declaring all previously existing consular offices to be annulled; another stating that:—"All persons of African or Asiatic race are pro-

hibited from remaining in the European quarter from 5.30 P.M. to 6.30 A.M.; unless guaranteed by a European, with the approval of the authority. Permits of residence, stating name and quality of the guarantor, will be issued to the parties interested by the Superior Commander, whenever the guarantee offered appears to him to be satisfactory."

On Friday I sent in the names of my servants and their wives, and of my schoolmistress and her mother, spending the day, as before, in removing what furniture I could save, my men working heartily, although they had lost their all.

On Saturday morning, June 16, about 7.30, the Mayor came to me and said he had received my note, with the names of my servants, and that if I would go to the fort at 8 or 8.30 the passports would be given me by the commander; that there would be no difficulty in my case, and that my going was merely a matter of form. On arrival, I found that the Mayor was there before me. He took me to the commander, and accused me of harbouring spies. The officer, instead of giving me the passports, said that by their names it appeared my servants were Hovas. I explained that I had certainly written their names *à la Hova*, but in fact they were Betsileo, a tribe resembling the Betsimisaraka, and under subjection to the Hovas. I said, "The only Hovas in the list are the schoolmistress and her mother, the one being too ill and the other too old to leave Tamatave before the bombardment." I was then asked where they were, and upon my replying that I had left them at Mr. Aitken's house, where they had slept the past few nights, I was roughly told by the commander that he would keep

me under arrest till they arrived. I asked to be allowed to write for them to be sent, and this I did, the Mayor agreeing to see my note delivered to Mr. Aitken.

The Mayor was the instigator of this proceeding, I believe; and, from various statements made, I think that spies had been for some time past employed to watch me, and any excuse was seized upon to give a colour of reason for my arrest. As a writer in *The Planter's Gazette* truly remarks, "It was dangerous to be an Englishman or a Protestant in Tamatave." I had very often acted as interpreter and translator for Mr. Pakenham, H.B.M.'s Consul, who was not conversant with the Malagasy language, and, although not an official translator nor sworn interpreter, I had been entrusted with important documents; at the same time the Hova Government applied to me in similar circumstances; so that the whole correspondence on both sides sometimes passed through my hands. This, it seems, has given rise to the suspicion that I was private secretary to the British Consul, and adviser to the Hova Governor, both of which statements are altogether untrue, as I have been most careful to refrain from anything like entanglement in the politics of the country, and only as a private friend of the Consul, and of the Hova Governor, did I undertake to assist them. But to have been a friend to either of these was sufficient to condemn a man to the French officials.

Meanwhile, with very little ceremony, I was marched off into a tent, and placed under a guard of four armed soldiers and a corporal, and told I was not to remove from the tent on pain of being shot; and thus I was kept until night, in a small, hot tent, the door of which

was kept closed, although I had seen that my servants arrived during the early part of the day. The harsh and uncalled-for treatment caused me to be in constant dread, lest from any confused or contradictory statements of my servants more extreme measures might be resorted to.

About 6 o'clock I was placed in the centre of a squad of soldiers, told to march with them to the landing-place at the other end of the town, to hold no communication with any one, and if I disobeyed I should be executed. Arrived at the beach, I was put into the *Nièvre's* boat and taken on board, together with Mr. Aitken, his two clerks and my servants. We Europeans were confined in separate cabins, and not allowed to hold any communication, armed sentries being told off to guard us. The following day the other Europeans were released without any form of trial or examination, but I was still kept in my cabin, and fed upon a portion of the sailor's rations served in a bucket and without knife, fork, or any utensils. The food was of the coarsest description, a small piece of meat once a day, and soup made of beans or peas for the only other meal during the day, a piece of bread and a little claret accompanying each. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could get a little water to drink or to wash with. Hence it was not wonderful that in a few days I was laid up with an attack of fever. During my illness the doctor was not only very attentive, but tried his best to alleviate the harshness of my imprisonment.

I was allowed to converse with the officers of the *Nièvre*, and I made several unsuccessful attempts to discover why I was detained. But, during a conversation with one of the officers, it was made very clear that the French thought that every English missionary

must necessarily be a political agent, labouring not only for the extension of Christ's kingdom, but also for the aggrandisement of England. France has been willing to use Jesuit priests for political purposes in various parts of the world; and doubtless this knowledge gave a colour to the erroneous notion respecting those who are sent out with instructions to "avoid mixing in native politics," and who endeavour conscientiously to carry out such a wise provision. Now that my imprisonment is over, I believe that my being a Protestant, a member of the London Missionary Society, and having the confidence of the British subjects in Tamatave as well as of the Hovas, were the real causes of my detention, while the *charges* were invented to give a plausible excuse for the high-handed action of the French officers.

Two or three days after I had been placed on board the *Nièvre*, Andrianisa, the consular secretary, was brought and treated in the same way as myself. When we were transferred to the *Flore*, we were placed together in one cabin for the first evening, so that we could converse. He told me he had done nothing, and was accused of nothing except of being a Hova. Now this, I believe, every one in Tamatave knows to be untrue; and it is strange if Mr. Raffray, who caused his arrest, was not perfectly cognisant of the fact that Andrianisa was a British subject, although of Hova parentage on his father's side. He was born in Mauritius; his mother was a creole of that place, and he remained in that island till after he had reached the age of twenty-one years. He had always represented himself as a British subject, long before these troubles came upon Tamatave. Mr. Pakenham declared to the officers sent to arrest his secretary in his presence, that Andrianisa was a British

subject. But the commander of the fort was not willing to accept this verbal statement, and demanded a written certificate from Mr. Pakenham, which the latter did not feel called upon to give at the bidding of a French official. After being kept in confinement some weeks, Andrianisa was released,[1] without being tried or examined in any way whatever: a clear admission on the part of the French authorities that they had no grounds on which to detain him, while his family was in a destitute condition on shore. This was after the death of H.B.M.'s Consul.

The Admiral, in a note to one of the Bourbon papers, denies any knowledge of these facts, and also that any indignity was offered to H.B.M.'s Consul. But the above are the simple facts of the one case; and with regard to the other, I heard from a credible witness who was present, that our Consul was ordered to leave the shore within twenty-four hours from the time of notice, notwithstanding that information was given of his serious illness. Had he not died meanwhile, there is no doubt he would have been removed; and this was to be done because he was said to be holding communication with the enemy; a proceeding which, in the face of the strong cordon of sentries placed round Tamatave, and of the fact that Mr. Pakenham had not the confidence of the natives, was an impossibility. The charge was as ridiculous as that made against Captain Johnstone, that he signalled to the natives by night. Admiral Pierre's credulity went a long way, if he really believed

[1] In a communication made by M. Waddington to Lord Granville August 13th, he asserted that Andrianisa "was immediately released," and "that the French forces had shown all the consideration the circumstances allowed of."

that the "nation altogether barbarous" had studied and learnt the naval code of signals. But even this charge was sufficient, in the hands of so unscrupulous a man, to place Captain Johnstone under the indignity of a surveillance, and to prevent him holding communication with the shore.

Whilst I remained in a state of uncertainty on board the *Nièvre*, and while still suffering from the effects of the fever, the *Taymouth Castle*, a steamer of the Cape R.M.S. Company, from London, arrived in the harbour, June 26th, having my wife on board. So that I had the additional pain of seeing the vessel in, and yet not being able to meet my wife, who had left Tamatave two years previously in ill health, to seek change and medical advice in England. I knew, too, with what a terrible shock the news of my imprisonment would come upon her just at the time she was expecting to meet me. As I was not allowed to hold any communication with the shore, I could discover nothing of her movements nor how she was bearing it, and when the vessel left again I was in perfect ignorance as to whether she remained on shore or had left again for Mauritius. After the vessel had left, letters were given me, written by my wife for me, but read and kept by the French officers until after she had gone, so that I had to bear the misery of learning that as the *Taymouth Castle* steamed out close to the *Nièvre*, she was on board, without my knowing it, or making any effort to get a distant glimpse of her.

Since being set at liberty I have heard from her how harshly she was treated. She first went in a boat to the beach, but was not allowed to land, to ask the officer in charge of the custom-house if she might not be allowed

to see me. The officer told her he could not give her permission, but she might apply to the Admiral. Accordingly she went with the second officer of the *Taymouth Castle* to the *Flore.* She was received on board by the Admiral's secretary, and informed him of her wish to see the Admiral. This was denied her, and she was told that if she had anything to communicate, she must do it through the secretary. She accordingly asked permission to do one of three things: to come on board the *Nièvre* for a short time to see me; to come and share my imprisonment, or to land, so as to be nearer to me than if she went to Mauritius. Each request as it was made was denied her; and, comfortless and thoroughly cast down, she had to leave the *Flore* without any prospect of seeing me, and without the least idea of what I stood accused. In passing the *Nièvre* to go to the *Flore,* she had been seen and recognised by Andrianisa, who was on deck, and he told the officers who she was. Hence means were taken to prevent my appearing on deck until she had repassed; and when on their return the boat had waited at a little distance from the *Nièvre,* and the captain was asked if Mrs. Shaw might not see me even from that distance, they were ordered off and told not to stay near the ship unless they had received permission for my wife to come on board. The secretary of the *Flore* told my wife that I was only confined to prevent my communication with the shore, and that I was well treated; both of which statements were devoid of the least shadow of truth. But when my wife's letters were given me, and I saw the above stated as the cause of my imprisonment, I wrote to the commander of the fort offering to go to Mauritius, binding myself not to communicate with Tamatave. This

letter was afterwards used against me, as my accusers affected to believe that I was guilty, and therefore desired to escape.

My European letters by the mail were detained until read and examined by the French officers; and after the return mail had left only such as were considered not dangerous were given me. Letters from England addressed to my wife were also opened and read. Even one on Her Majesty's service, sealed with the official seal of the Colonial Postmaster General in Mauritius, was not respected.

After being confined for seventeen days an officer came on board, and I was ordered into the captain's cabin to be examined for the first time. I then found that the charge brought against me was totally different from that made by the commander of the fort, when he first arrested me; and I was told that I stood accused of having scattered about in the vicinity of my house a number of bottles of wine and other *liquids*, which I had poisoned, with the intention of destroying the French picket, that I knew was to be placed in my house. I not only indignantly denied this, but also showed how, by the Europeans who were with me at Mr. Aitken's as witnesses, I could prove that neither I nor my servants could have left the town to go to my house during the night of Wednesday to Thursday. A constant watch had been kept throughout the night, and hence it was impossible that anyone could have left the house unobserved. After about half an hour's examination the officer left, and I heard no more of my case for some days. I was then ordered to pack up what few clothes I had been allowed to receive from shore, and prepare to go on board the *Flore*.

There my imprisonment was made much more harsh, and the regulations far more stringent. Everything seemed to be done to make me feel that my confinement was no pleasant situation. I was placed in a small cabin on the lower or third deck, and told to remain in it. I was not to leave it except for an hour a day, when I might walk on the upper deck, between the galley and the gangway, but not beyond either; my cabin was to be kept constantly closed; an armed sentry to keep guard over me day and night; and I was not allowed to speak to anyone, except the sentry who brought my rations. Books were denied me, and my cabin, lighted by a very small port, was so dismal that I could not see to do anything after about 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

In this state of misery and suspense I was kept for another nineteen days, hearing nothing of the result of my examination. Meanwhile, I had written to the commander of the fort, under the impression that I was detained simply, as the Admiral informed my wife, to prevent my communicating with the shore, on which I offered to go Mauritius, and find any security they were willing to accept; that I would abstain from communicating with Tamatave. Getting no answer, I then wrote to the Admiral in the same terms. To this he returned a verbal answer, saying that 'the affair was not in his hands, but in those of the officers on shore; that it would eventually come up for his decision, but not until those who had charge of the case had each given in their report.' I wrote to Captain Johnstone, also asking him to make in my name the same offer to the Admiral. As all letters were thoroughly examined, this was detained, and never reached him.

After twenty-two days from my first examination, another officer sent an order for me to go into his cabin, and submit to another examination. He told me he had been appointed *reporter*, and was allowed not only to examine me, but also to question, on oath, any persons I might wish to call as witnesses. In presence of this officer and a police-constable I was once more asked a great number of questions, which were, with their answers, written. Again I was asked if I knew for what I was imprisoned. "Yes," I said; "I was told first I was imprisoned for harbouring spies, and afterwards, for trying to poison the French troops." "No! no!" said the officer; "you are imprisoned because you have been *imprudent!*" As I smiled, partly in incredulity at such a charge being brought against me after six weeks' imprisonment, he went on, at my request, to explain. "Well," he said; "after knowing that your cellar and dispensary were broken into and pillaged, you ought to have been more careful to have informed the officers and marines that there might be poisons lying about." I explained that after the watch we kept the night previously, another European and I went together into my house on the Thursday morning, before anyone else, and, finding some bottles lying about the garden, we collected all we could find whole, and sent them into the town with other things. And at this work we were engaged when the picket arrived. I also explained that I had informed the officer in charge of the picket that the cellar and dispensary had been broken open. I also asked that, if any goods of mine were found by the soldiers, they would inform me, in order that I might at once have them removed. And I concluded that having given this notice, the

remainder of the cautioning was the officer's duty; and that I never expected French sailors would pick up any bottle they might find lying about and drink from it.

It was affirmed against me that some bottles, and amongst them a bottle of laudanum, were found in the brushwood outside my garden, but near to it. But, although I was there all day, engaged in saving some of my property, I was not informed of the discovery of these bottles, and they were officiously broken, and a report of the same sent to the commander of the fort. It was asserted in my examination that the sudden illness of one of the drunken soldiers had been ascribed, on good authority, to the effects of opium;" and on the strength of this had been founded the charge of poisoning, which was found to be just as groundless as the first,—that I was holding communication with the Hovas. That I sympathised with them most heartily, goes without saying; but that I overstepped the bounds of neutrality by a hair's breadth, is without foundation.

After another eleven days in this small, dark, rat-infested cabin, treated worse than a condemned felon in England, I was told that, having been examined by the *reporter*, my case had still to go through the hands of two other officers, who might be an indefinite time before rendering their reports to the Admiral. That not till then could the latter decide whether it was necessary I should be brought before a court-martial. Hence I might remain on board another six months without being brought to trial. But I was told that, as neither of the subsequent examiners could examine me personally, I might, with a fair hope of success, write

to the Admiral, offering to go to Mauritius on *parole;* in other words, if I would give my word of honour to return for the court-martial when the Admiral sent for me. I only too gladly complied; but I found this was a mere ruse, for the Admiral was not on board at the time; he had gone to Bourbon, and the letter was only to be a means of making me, if possible, criminate myself. I was asked to write that "appearances were against me" when I was arrested; but this I declined to do, though at last, as time wore on, I made a compromise by substituting, "although some circumstances of the case make appearances to be against me, I wish again most emphatically and solemnly as in the presence of God to affirm my entire innocence," &c. I referred to the fact that the bottles were found in the garden on the particular morning that the picket arrived.

Having been kept for eight weeks in total ignorance of what was transpiring in the outer world, not knowing how my wife was bearing the hard trial, and having been informed by my examiner that I might remain in prison six months longer before the court martial, and that then I should only be allowed to have a French counsel, it was no wonder that under pressure, and in my weak state of health, I was willing to yield against my judgment and write the above. Not only was pressure used, but I was induced to write by false pretences, inasmuch as the Admiral was not able to be communicated with, but had left in the *Forfait* a fortnight before I supposed I was addressing him on board.

On August 6th, I was told that although the Admiral had not answered, which he would not do till

the last minute, yet it was quite certain I should be allowed to go in the way I asked. Accordingly arrangements were made for my passage by the *Nièvre* to Bourbon. On the following evening, about 8 o'clock, a form filled up was brought to me, stating that, as there was not sufficient evidence to warrant my being brought before a court-martial, considering my nationality and other circumstances outside the case, I be set at liberty. I especially enquired if this bore reference to my offer on *parole d'honneur*, and I was answered No! that I was altogether free; and my servants, who had also been confined on the *Flore*, were free also, if any European on shore would offer security for them.

In Mauritius, Sir John Pope Hennessey and Admiral Sir William Hewett had heard with some considerable concern of the high-handed action of the French at Tamatave and other places on the east and north coasts of Madagascar. The former felt it necessary not only to send over the *Stella*, with instructions to take over to the colony all British subjects who might wish to leave the island, but he also sent letters to the Admiral making enquiry regarding my imprisonment; to which the Admiral replied very courteously, although he had refused to hold any communication with Captain Johnstone on the matter. When the English captain protested against the action of the Admiral, he was told that a protest coming from a man of his rank rendered it unfit that any further communications should be held with him, and he was also prevented from landing at Tamatave, after he had returned from the funeral of Consul Pakenham. It is quite evident that a "grave and painful occurrence,"

leading the two nations to the verge of war, was bridged over by the repudiation by France of her representative's action in the harbour of Tamatave. Admiral Pierre was recalled, and his death at Marseilles materially helped the two Governments to come to an understanding. It was, however, quite evident, from the despatches of the French Minister, that the Government in Paris did not in the least sanction the outrageous acts of their Admiral. In fact, there is reason to believe that the latter anticipated such a feeling when in his telegrams home he utterly ignored those matters which we look upon as serious. For, on the application for information on the part of Lord Granville, M. Challemel-Lacour says, on July 13th, "A very short telegram informs us that Admiral Pierre repulsed two general night attacks on the 26th June and the 5th July. No mention is made therein of any difficulties between the Admiral and the British commander and Consul." And again, having called upon Lord Lyons, he said: "he was at a loss to account for the Admiral's not having made any allusion to them (the difficulties with the British authorities)." He stated further that, "he had sent telegrams to Zanzibar and Aden, directing that instructions should be forwarded by the quickest means to the Admiral to send full particulars at once." The same statement in effect was made in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Challemel-Lacour, in reply to a question relating to the subject of the Admiral's actions, which had so astonished him, in a man whose "prudence equalled his determination."

But when the French were put in possession of all the facts, their expression of regret to the British

Government was spontaneous, and showed that the French Ministry were anxious to act consistently "with the friendly feeling and the good disposition existing between the two Governments," both regarding the conduct of their Admiral towards H. B. M.'s Consul, Captain Johnstone and myself.

CHAPTER XI.

ACCESSION OF RANAVALONA III.

Events in Antananarivo—Committee of safety—Letter to Lord Granville—Missionaries leaving the country—Mails interrupted—Death of Ranavalona II.—Coronation of Ranavalona III.—Her character—Vice-Consul for Antananarivo—Consular agents along the coast—Queen's message to her subjects in view of French advance—Bombardments on the east coast—Position at Tamatave—Native determination.

MEANWHILE, events of importance had been transpiring in the capital. Although the departure of all French subjects, according to the decree of the Queen, and the statement of the Prime Minister to the people that all foreigners who remained were friends, relieved the British, Norwegian and American subjects of any immediate cause for fear, yet they felt their position to be one of considerable peril. No actual and immediate danger was to be apprehended from the people; but what if the French should carry out their threat and march into the interior? Various complications would soon arise. The natives openly spoke of destroying the town by fire in such a case; and this would involve the departure of all inhabitants, foreigners as well as natives. No representative of Her Majesty's Government resided at Antananarivo, either to advise the Government or protect the interests of British

subjects. Added to this, all communication being cut off by the bombardment of Tamatave, no mails were delivered, and nothing but flying reports of the course of events reached the anxious white population in the capital.

As a self-protective measure, a committee of the foreign residents was formed shortly after the news of the bombardment of Anorontsanga reached head-quarters. This committee, with Bishop Cornish as its chairman, undertook to supply H. B. M.'s Consul at Tamatave with information respecting events in the capital so long as the road was open; and also to become the means of communication with Her Majesty's Government, seeking advice and representing the trying position in which they might be placed. One principle, always acted upon by the missionaries, especially those of the London Missionary Society, has been to keep clear of native politics. The wisdom of this course of action has again and again exhibited itself, more especially since the time the Queen embraced the Christian religion, and joined herself in Church fellowship to one of the Churches under the guidance of the London Missionary Society. Doubtless the action of the Government may at times have been influenced by the missionaries, but this has been an indirect influence—a teaching of right motives and righteous principles—which have evidenced themselves in the course pursued by those in authority. It is also true that as teachers the missionaries have expounded the principles of political economy, and inculcated the wish for just and equitable laws, have condemned wholesale capital punishment, and shown the duty of a civilised government to its subjects. But this is not "interfering in native politics:" it is a course

adopted, and rightly so too, by every newspaper towards its own Government. And the teaching has been seen by the people to have been given with no personal motives, but only from the philanthropic desire to see righteousness and peace, love and purity, advancing in the country. Hence they have accepted it, and acted up to it as far as they have been capable, probably rejecting advice which has been tendered from other quarters, not so clearly disinterested.

In communicating with Lord Granville on August 17, 1883, the committee represent their position as one causing little anxiety from the natives, "so long as the present Government retains its power, since even the Jesuit priests and other French subjects were safely escorted to the coast after the outbreak of hostilities, and at this date, eleven weeks afterwards, their property in the capital is as safe as when they left." They, however, were feeling the inconvenience of the stoppage of all communications, and were apprehensive of the failure of supplies of provisions and money. Some of their number, too, having broken down in health, were, independently of the unsettled state of the country, anxious to leave; but they were uncertain whether any port would be open to them, and whether after travelling to the coast they might not have to return. Besides, for reasons just mentioned, it might be out of their power in a few months to pay the necessary expenses of the journey to the coast. Alarm was also felt at the high-handed action of the French authorities in Tamatave, in forbidding officers of Her Majesty's ships to land, in arresting and imprisoning British subjects in the presence of British men-of-war, while the captains of those vessels were kept in total ignorance of the charges

under which they were arrested. It was natural that they should ask themselves what might not happen in the capital, where there is not a single representative of the British or any other foreign Government, should the French eventually reach the interior?

The committee, therefore, memorialised the Foreign Secretary, begging his lordship (1) to take steps for keeping open communication, so that they might get their mails, stores, and specie, through some port on the east coast; (2) to send a British ship to some port also on the east coast, by which such of their number as wished to leave the island might do so in safety; and (3) to send a representative of the British Government, with as little delay as possible, to reside at Antananarivo.

Before the arrival of this memorial in London, many of the requests made in it had been anticipated. The acting Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society had written on July 31st to Lord Granville, informing him of the receipt of news from Tamatave to the effect that the party who left England in the May previously had not been allowed to land, that other missionaries who were to have embarked there in the same vessel had been prevented by the unsettled state of the country from reaching Tamatave. It was also intimated that they were reported to have reached Ivondrona, where any lengthened residence would seriously impair their health; and, therefore, his lordship was asked if steps could not be taken by the British authorities at Tamatave to communicate with them, and procure for them a safe conduct to the port, with a view to their embarking there *en route* for Mauritius and England.

Instructions were accordingly sent to Captain John-

stone of the *Dryad*, to use his best endeavours to relieve the party from their unpleasant position: and the French Minister telegraphed to Zanzibar instructions to the military authorities, "directing them to take the necessary steps to facilitate, under the circumstances indicated by the British Government, the departure from Madagascar of the English missionaries."*

Nevertheless quite half the party returned to the capital, being, of course, in total ignorance of what was passing in the outside world, and only realising their inability to reach Tamatave. The Rev. G. Cousins has graphically described the troubles, difficulties and dangers of their journey from the capital to Ivondrona, and the attempt made by two of their number to reach Tamatave on foot. He speaks of the subsequent division of the party, one half deciding to return to Antananarivo, while the other, including himself, elected to make the long tedious canoe journey along the lagoons to a port in the south. On this journey, occupying many days under a scorching sun in an unhealthy climate, some of their number were repeatedly attacked with fever, and in constant dread lest after all the weariness, pain, and privation they might be disappointed on arrival to find the ports bombarded, and no vessels allowed to embark them. However, on reaching Mananjara, they felt themselves fortunate in securing a passage in a small schooner bound for Mauritius, notwithstanding the inconveniences they were compelled to put up with on board.

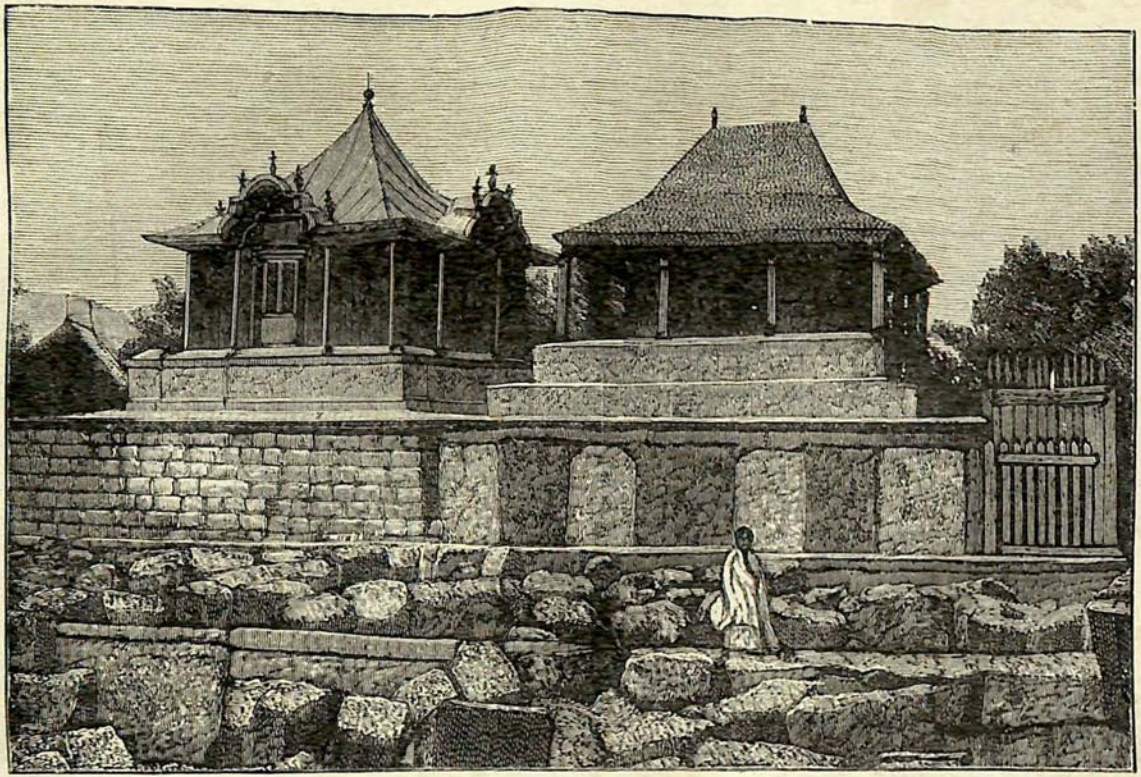
Mails which had lain for months at Tamatave were

* Correspondence respecting affairs in Madagascar, No. 1, 1884, p. 43.

sent to a port in the south, and messengers were despatched with them to the capital, so that after nearly six months' silence the Europeans shut up in the interior obtained news of what was passing in the outer world.

Soon after the commencement of the war-like operations, an event occurred in the capital which had been anticipated not only with sorrow, but with a considerable amount of dread on the part of the foreign residents. As long as the existing Government was in power, all was felt to be well, so far as personal security was concerned; but what if the Government should be changed? The Queen was known to be in delicate health, and the question was frequently asked: "What will be the effect on the people should she die? Would it cause, as in previous cases, a revolution and a civil war?" Again and again reports reached Tamatave from the interior that the Queen was seriously ill, and occasionally it was reported that she was dead, but that the death, for political reasons, was kept quiet. These, however, proved to have been false reports, and were probably circulated to ascertain the effect of such an occurrence upon the coast tribes.

But on July 13, 1883, the sad event took place, after two months' serious illness, borne with all the fortitude of the true Christian, and exhibiting to the last her firm trust on the Rock of her Salvation. A native who was with her till the last says, that "in the near approach of death she possessed a sound mind, and remembered the Lord her God. She lost not her confidence in the fearful hour; in the thick darkness she saw the great light, and found life in the hour of death." Early in the morning, about 2 A.M., a severe



THE ROYAL TOMBS, AMBOHIMANGA.
(The burial place of Ranavalona II.)

shock of an earthquake shook the city, which being afterwards remembered by the people seemed to strangely bear out their belief that some such convulsion of nature or some extraordinary phenomenon occurs immediately before the death of the sovereign. At half-past seven the same morning the Queen quietly passed away, after a successful, merciful, and beneficent reign of fifteen years. "The sad event was announced about mid-day by a sudden and heavy firing of cannon, when the large weekly market, which was being held at the time, fell into a state of disorder in a moment, and crowds upon crowds of people—the men with their hats off, and the women in the act of dishevelling their hair—rushed to the palace, to hear the Prime Minister announce the sad tidings, and proclaim the appointment of her successor, Ranavalona III."*

Three days afterwards the body was removed from the palace in Antananarivo, and taken to the ancient capital, and one of the sacred towns of the Hovas, into which no European is allowed to enter, about twelve miles to the north. The funeral procession was attended by crowds of the people, who truly lamented the death of the gentlest of Malagasy women, and the most gracious of Queens. On the following day at midnight the remains were deposited in the grave of Ranavalona I. of notorious memory, on account of the persecution of the Christians. "She was buried in the same grave," says the Rev. R. Baron, "not because of any special desire having been expressed by the Queen to that effect, but rather because of a dream, which she had had some time before her death, that they were both sleeping in the same bed. And so it comes about that Ranavalona I.,

* *Antananarivo Annual*, 1883, p. 8.

the great persecutor of Christians, and Ranavalona II., the devout believer in the Gospel, lie together in one sepulchre. Extremes certainly meet here."

A thousand bullocks, according to the Malagasy custom, were killed at the funeral, and the beef was eaten by the mourners. But, with this exception, the customs observed at the death of a Queen were ignored. This was doubtless owing to a growing sense of the inutility of such observances, to the disturbed state of the country with reference to the French action, and also to an expressed desire of the Queen on her death-bed that as little fuss as possible should be made at her funeral.

Ranavalona II. was the niece of the persecuting Queen of the same name, and cousin of Rasoherina, her immediate predecessor. She was born in 1829, and was early noted among her peers as a girl of gentle and tender nature, and lacking the haughty exclusiveness of her aunt. Very many native accounts are recorded of her tender-heartedness, of her help tendered to those in distress, and of her endeavours to shield the Christians from the severity of Ranavalona I. She was educated in one of the London Missionary Society's schools, from which she carried away the early germs of that love of Christ which have sprung up and borne so much fruit in her reign. During the persecution it is known that she made several attempts to save the Christians; and native reports say that she was herself a true Christian long before she openly received baptism. She is said to have frequently attended the devotional meetings of those persecuted ones both in the capital and in the plain below; and it is asserted that she sometimes received into the palace those who came to speak with her upon spiritual matters, notwithstanding she knew

that by so doing she was running great risks. For although she was a great favourite of the Queen, had the latter known of the secret meetings, so great was her enmity towards the worshippers, that steps would have been taken to circumscribe her liberty, even if she were not banished. "On one occasion she entered the house of an old lady very early one cold morning, to warm herself by the fire; and as she was dripping with dew, her aged friend asked her where she had been such a night as that. 'I have been,' she said, 'to a meeting of Christians out yonder on the marsh;' to which the old woman replied, with tears in her eyes, 'The Lord prosper you in your seeking after Him thus.'" *

On April 1st, 1868, she ascended the throne, on the death of her cousin; and it speedily became known that the first Christian Sovereign ruled in Madagascar, for the idols reverenced by her predecessors were looked upon with no favour by her. The idol-keepers or priests trembled for their office and their power, and tried to create a diversion in favour of the ancient worship. But a deathblow was given to all their hopes, when on the coronation day, Sept. 3rd—a day ever to be remembered in the annals of Christianity in Madagascar—it was found that in place of the idol, a Bible occupied a prominent position near the throne. Round the four sides of the canopy surmounting it, too, were the four mottoes printed in large golden letters: "Glory to God in the highest," "Peace on earth," "Good will towards men," "God be with us." And the Queen in her speech to the people, with her hand on the Bible, said that she rested her kingdom on God, for He had given it. Declaring herself a Christian, she trusted her people

* *Antananarivo Annual*, 1883, p. 3.

might also be led to see with her; but, said she, "in this matter you shall not be compelled, you shall not be hindered, for God made you."

From that time the Queen regularly attended worship in one of the churches, and in October a meeting, the first of its kind, was held for worship inside the palace. In the following year the national idols of the Hovas were burned by the Queen's command, and she and the Prime Minister were baptised into the Christian faith, by the present pastor (1885) of the Palace Church, Andrianbelo, one of those who were most eminently faithful and energetic in keeping alive the faith of the Christians during the persecution. Four months afterwards (the usual probation given to all candidates for Church fellowship by the London Missionary Society Churches) both the Queen and Prime Minister were received as Church members, and ever afterwards proved their sincerity to the profession thus made by their consistent, devoted, and upright walk and conversation.

According to a native writer, who describes her conduct and character, she was a most devout woman, not only expressing in public her dependence upon God, but by her constant communion with Him showing that she was a firm believer in the power and efficacy of prayer. It is said that she never committed herself to any action, even the most simple and commonplace, without first asking God's blessing. When she went out, when she came in, before and after meals, at the opening of the Council, on rising and on retiring, before the annual feast (the *Fandroana*), and even during her last illness, she would not take her medicine before a blessing had been asked upon it. Her conduct in church, too, always impressed me with its quiet,

unostentatious devotion: and her attention to the reading and preaching of God's Word was most marked, and her singing of the hymns most hearty.

That her religion was a real thing, and not a cloak put on for political reasons, is also proved by her actions. Her care for her people's good was most marked. It is said that she contracted the small-pox which had so disfigured her face by her sympathy for the sufferers taking her into dangerous proximity to them. It is known that she distributed large sums of money to the poor and sick, but to what extent is unknown. However, we know that regularly every first Sunday in the month, at the observance of the communion of the Lord's Supper, she placed in the plate £20 for distribution by the Church among the poor. While apart from all other gifts she sent £50 or £60 a month to the pastors of the city churches, to be used by them for helping any poor churches in the villages connected with them, or to assist those who were building new ones. A school for the sons of the nobles has long been held in the palace, and for some years past the Queen has been supporting a hospital and dispensary for the benefit of her people, although this involves the payment of the salaries of two properly qualified doctors from England, and the purchase of the necessary instruments and medicines.

Her reluctance to punish was also a marked feature of her reign. Nothing gave her so much pain as the necessity of signing the warrant for the death of a malefactor; and capital punishment has during the past ten years been reduced to a minimum: death never being inflicted but for murder and high treason against the life of the Queen. Her merciful disposition

has also been shown in the instructions given to those who have had to go as soldiers against tribes in rebellion against her. The lives of her people have been held sacred by her, and her conduct towards the seventy French subjects who were living in the interior at the time of the outbreak of hostilities, already referred to on page 145, is a conclusive proof of the high-toned sense of honour and justice that regulated the actions of this eminently good and Christian lady.

Her successor, under the title of Ranavalona III., was proclaimed immediately after the death of her aunt, but she did not make her public appearance till November 22nd, when she came to her coronation on the "Sacred Stone" in the centre of the large plain to the west of the capital. This plain had been staked off into divisions, with roads leading in different directions from the stone as the centre, and these roads were kept clear by a double line of soldiers facing each other with their bayonets fixed. The young men acting as Government doctors were placed at the corners, marked with red and white flags, that they might be easy of access and easily discovered in case of accident. How humane solicitude for the well-being of others follows upon the heels of a Christian civilisation! According to some accounts half a million of people assembled soon after five o'clock on the morning of the ceremony, when cannon from the height of the capital announced that the Queen would soon leave the palace.

Representatives from the various classes of foreigners were invited to meet the Queen between seven and nine on the plain of Andohalo, in the centre of the city, and to accompany her down to the great plain of Imahamasina, where all the others were invited to be present.

Here, at Andohalo, was formed a guard of 400 of the elder scholars from the chief city schools in uniform, and carrying Remington rifles with fixed bayonets. They were officered by their teachers, dressed in distinctive uniforms according to the school from which they had come. The lads were in high glee, and highly appreciated the honour the Queen was giving them in having them rather than the soldiers for her body-guard.

When the booming of the cannon announced the departure of the Queen from the palace, these boys formed into a square around the "Sacred Stone," on which the sovereigns of Madagascar have first to step, in proving their right to the crown. Presently down came two companies of soldiers with banners and bands, the ladies of honour, a hundred spearmen in striped jerseys, the chief officers in brilliant uniforms, and all on foot save the mounted officers bearing flags. They have adopted a new flag of scarlet and white joined diagonally with a crown and R.M. embroidered on each side.

The Queen, shaded by two large scarlet umbrellas and a small pink parasol, was in a very handsome palanquin, carried by about twenty men. She was dressed in a white brocaded low silk dress, adorned with many jewels on her breast, white kid boots and gloves, and wore a large gold crown, or, as they call it, a hat with seven branches, owing to the crest being seven spikes of burnished gold. She was followed by a large company of singing women, and men beating drums. The spearmen fell into line, and as the Queen approached the stone the boys presented arms. The Prime Minister, and the chief of the Ambassadors who recently visited

Europe, took the Queen by the hand and led her to the stone, her train of richly embroidered velvet being held by four of the chief officers. Then came the salute; the Prime Minister stepped to the east, drew his jewelled sword, gave the word of command, and as he on bended knee knelt before her the bands and cannon all round the city saluted Her Majesty as the only lawful Queen of Madagasçar, while a deafening shout was raised by the thousands of people collected on the plain.

The youngest boy of the school (a nephew of the Queen, and about eleven years old) stepped forward and presented the *hasina*, expressing the allegiance of the people. The officer in charge of the guard of honour then came and inquired after the health of the Queen, and the first ceremony was at an end.

The representatives of the foreigners immediately left and hurried down to Imahamasina. The roads were lined with crowds of people in garments of linen, prints and calicos, and as the Queen passed they chanted some national songs and clapped their hands, beating time to the chanting. Half way down the hill the Friends' school met the Queen; but it was much after twelve before she reached the plain. As she passed the battery at Ambodin, Andohalo, the immense crowd on the plain caught sight of the scarlet umbrellas, and broke out into shouts of the wildest enthusiasm. Arrived at the first triumphal arch, 500 girls from the various town schools met her, and strewed flowers on the road over which she was carried, singing the while. As she passed under the second arch leading into the inner square, the foreigners present—English, Norwegians and Americans —greeted her with three hearty English cheers. Turning to the east of the inner square, where were sitting the

nobles dressed in scarlet, the Queen left her palanquin and ascended the platform by the eastern steps, and took her seat under a beautiful canopy supported by four fluted gilt pillars covered with scarlet cloth, and surmounted by a gilt crown nearly two feet high. At the corners were festoons of scarlet, on her right was a table with a marble top, on which rested a large Bible, and to her left was another table with a golden vessel of water. On the four sides of the cornice of the canopy were the words, "God with us," "Glory to God," "Peace on earth," and "Good will toward men."

After a salute had been fired, and the Europeans invited to the platform, from which a good view could be obtained, not only of the imposing ceremony, but also of the densely packed crowd of people, the Queen arose and delivered extempore the following speech:—

"This is my message to you, O people; God has given me the country and the kingdom, and I thank Him exceedingly. The blessings of Andrianampoinimerina (the first King of Imerina), and Lehidama (the first Radama), and Radodonandrianampoinimerina (the persecuting Queen), and Rasoherimanjaka (the widow of Radama II.), and Ranavalomanjaka (the late Queen) have come down to me.

"You, the people, have assembled here on this day of my public appearance, and you have not deceived me, and so I thank you, and may the blessing of God be on you!

"This also I say to you: As you have not altered the words of the five sovereigns, and seeing that their memory is dear to you, and you do not depart from the charge they left you, I rest in confidence, O people; I have a father, I have a mother, in having you. May

you live, may you be prosperous, and may God bless you!

"Rest in confidence; for it is I whom God has chosen to reign in this island as successor and heir of the five. It is I who am your protection, the refuge of the poor, and the glory of the rich; and when I say rest in confidence, you should really be confident. For my desire from God is to benefit you, to make you prosperous, and to govern you in righteousness. Is it not so, O my people?

"Further, I would remind you that Andrianampoinimerina was lord of the land; Radama put forth strenuous efforts to make his kingdom stretch to the sea: he left it to his three successors, and they have left it to me. And should any one dare to claim even a hair's breadth, I will show myself to be a man, and go along with you to protect our fatherland. Is it not so, O people?

"We have treaties with our friends from across the sea: observe them strictly, for should anyone break them I shall account him guilty of crime.

"I also announce to you that it is Rainilaiarivony who is Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief.

"I would also tell you, the Army, that, as to the vows you made with Radama, and which you ratified to his three successors, and which are now renewed to me, I can accept nothing else, O Army. Is it not so, O soldiers?

"I also tell you that I place my kingdom under the protection of God; for I know that it is that kingdom which is governed in dependence upon God that is true, and has strength and progress. Go forward in wisdom, that the glory of this kingdom may increase. Remember

that it is 'Righteousness that exalteth a nation,' and that 'The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom.'

"The laws of my kingdom will be printed and issued to all the people. Let each one beware, for the law is no respecter of persons; it is what a person does that condemns him, for both I and you must submit to the law. Observe the laws; for I have no desire to condemn you, and I wish no one's life to be taken. Whoever forsakes the path of righteousness walks in the way of darkness. Is it not so, O people?"

At the conclusion of the speech there were the same demonstrations of enthusiasm as at its commencement. When the Queen had resumed her seat, the chiefs of the people from all parts of the island came up in groups to declare their allegiance and present the dollar as *hasina*. The foreigners went down in groups to show their respect, and, the London Missionary Society and Friends first, followed by the Lutherans, the Anglicans, and the merchants, severally presented a sovereign and made short speeches. At the end came Madame Juliet, the descendant of the Betsimisaraka kings, from the neighbourhood of Tamatave. She had come from the coast, occupied a place of honour on the platform, and she declared that not an inch of land should be given to the French. She is old, is a Catholic, was educated by the sisters of mercy in Bourbon, speaks French fluently, and the French have always reckoned upon her; but she declares that she knows no sovereign but Ranavalona III., and that she will never acknowledge the French, preferring rather to die.

The rain came on while these speeches were being delivered; but the people were not to be disappointed,

and kept their places. The heads of the people asked the Prime Minister to reply to the Queen's speech for them all: and this considerably shortened the proceedings. He replied seriatim to the various paragraphs, and as he stood with uplifted sword on the platform just in front of the Queen, and told her that his own body, and the bodies of all that vast multitude, should be her wall of defence, the people went frantic. Cannons and rifles boomed and cracked, swords, shields and spears were uplifted and clashed; hats and handkerchiefs and lambas were waved, while hundreds of thousands of throats shouted forth a wild and unconditional assent. In conclusion, he told the Queen, bowing to the missionaries, that much of the recent progress was owing to the teaching of those whom she saw near her.

The Queen then rose and said: "If such is your speech, who are the chief, and of you the people, I am confident. I have a father, I have a mother, in having you. May you live, and may God bless you! Be wise, O ye people, that you may be at peace."

When silence had been restored the Queen left the platform, and entered a small carriage drawn by a white pony. The latter was dispensed with, and the officers drew her all round the road between the eight inner and the eight outer divisions, through the mass of the people. All along she was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm. After her return to the platform a final salute was fired, and she returned to the palace by half-past-four. If ever Queen had a royal welcome from her peeple, she had that day: all along the way back the women and girls chanted their songs and clapped their hands for joy.

On arrival at the palace a short religious service of thanksgiving was held in the church, at which only natives were present.

Thus ended without mishap, accident, or outrage, one of the most memorable days Madagascar has seen.[1]

Two or three days subsequently were devoted to feasting and drinking the health of the Queen and Prime Minister; but only in lemonade, of which there was an abundant supply, while wine and spirits had no place at this royal feast. It is curious to note that at the coronation of Radama II., the French *protégé*, not only was the king intoxicated, but many of his guests and patrons disappeared under the table before the meal was over. Different counsels prevail now, and, as the Queen's speech shows, an evident desire for real progress animates the rulers and the chiefs of the people. May they be left to develop in the future as rapidly as they have during the past fifteen or twenty years! must be the prayer of all true-hearted friends of Christianity and civilisation.

The Queen's popularity has by no means diminished up to the present time. She is a thoroughly good and earnest Christian woman; one whom we can confidently trust to use every legitimate effort for the extension of education and morality, purity, and a higher social domestic and national integrity.

On December 3rd, 1883, Captain Johnstone of the *Dryad*, who had, since Consul Pakenham's death, been acting as British Consul for Madagascar, handed over

[1] For the description given of the present Queen's coronation I am indebted to the Rev. J. Richardson, from whose minute and picturesque account, published in the *Antananarivo Annual*, for 1883, I have very largely quoted.

the archives of the Consulate to Consul Graves at Zanzibar. Mr. Graves, a man of considerable experience, having represented Her Majesty's Government both in South Africa and in Samoa, was then on his way to Tamatave, which was from that time to become his head-quarters. He was accompanied by Mr. Pickersgill, who had been appointed as Vice-Consul, to reside in Antananarivo, to watch over the interests of British subjects there, and become, under Mr. Graves, official adviser to the court of the young Queen.

He entered the city on January 8th, 1884, amid rejoicing, and under a salute from the cannon of the battery. The Europeans turned out *en masse* to escort him to the palace, where he had an interview with the Queen and delivered his credentials. A suitable letter of thanks from the Queen to Her Majesty Queen Victoria was despatched, and the Union Jack was for the first time hoisted in Antananarivo over a British Vice-Consulate. The Committee of Safety ceased to exist, regular mails were established to the coast under the authority of the Vice-Consul, a court of justice (which has already had some cases to engage its attention) sat for the first time for the hearing of cases in which British subjects were involved; and under the judicious care and advice of Her Majesty's representative the British and Norwegian subjects feel perfectly secure from any outrage on the part of the natives, who might have been supposed to bear an ill-feeling against all foreigners because of the action of one European power.

Vice-Consuls have been also appointed in several of the ports north and south of Tamatave; and the energetic

and prompt way in which H. B. M.'s Consul has inaugurated his official connection with Madagascar speaks well for the future comfort and security of British subjects and British interests.

An English man-of-war, the *Tourmaline*, has taken the place of the *Dryad*, and continues to make periodic visits to the various points at which British subjects have been known to live, and which have been without exception bombarded by the French squadron, some of them two or three times. As Captain Boyle, the commander, says in his despatch to Sir W. Hewett:—"An occasional visit during these times, when law is apt to be in abeyance, brings home to governor and governed alike that the distinction between enemy and neutral must be observed, and that a general disregard of treaty rights is no part of a state of war."

A little anxiety was felt in June, 1884, for the safety of British subjects in Antananarivo, both because it had been reported to Consul Graves that an advance on the capital was anticipated by the French, and also because the negotiations between Admiral Miot, who replaced Admiral Galiber in May, and the Malagasy Plenipotentiaries had been broken off, after which the Admiral informed Consul Graves that he intended "to drive the Hovas out of their camp in front of the town." However, the Christian spirit and grateful solicitude for the safety of the English is shown by the Queen's words, as reported to Lord Granville by Mr. Pickersgill. After calling upon all her subjects to prepare themselves for war in defence of their fatherland, she says:—"The negotiations with the French have been broken off, the way they behave towards us is unendurable, and they threaten to destroy us, so that we shall never exist as a

nation again. But let there be no commotion, for our strength in this affair lies in discipline. And with regard to the Europeans now resident here in my country and kingdom, let every care be taken of them and their property, for they are relatives and friends, and in no way companions of those who are fighting against us."

One of the first acts of Admiral Miot was to re-bombard various ports on the east coast, and institute a blockade of several, notwithstanding that, as he was informed by Consul Graves, the "entire trade of these places being in the hands of British subjects, they would be the only sufferers from the measure." According to this programme, an English vessel, the *Orénoque*, loading in Mahanoro, was compelled to leave after only five hours' notice, with but half her cargo. The Hova position near Tamatave was also attacked two or three times, but in each case unsuccessfully. The Hova soldiers are behaving in a cool, courageous, soldier-like fashion; and, under the command and discipline of Colonel Willoughby, acting as Commander-in-Chief under the Hova Queen, to whom he has volunteered his services, the men are winning encomiums from all who understand the true bearing of the facts. There seems very little doubt that the French in these reconnaissances, notwithstanding the reports of the Admiral to the contrary, have been heavy losers. The Hova spies have been most successful in approaching close to the French lines and obtaining valuable information; and their scouts have achieved, according to some accounts, some wonderful triumphs, by creeping up unseen to the close proximity of bathing parties or pontoon-building companies, and then rushing out upon them with the usual

savage yell of the Malagasy warriors, at which the French officers and soldiers have decamped, leaving mules, clothes and apparatus in the hands of the Hovas. But these accounts are too highly coloured to be of much value.

Nevertheless, one or two significant facts are forced upon the notice. For twenty months Tamatave has been declared to be a portion of the great French Republic, during the whole of which time it has been besieged by a tribe whom the French choose to despise as "barbarians," and yet whom they have failed to dislodge. Ports, such as Fort Dauphin, Mahanoro, Fenoarivo, etc., have again and again been bombarded, wealth squandered in powder and shells, and yet these towns are still in the hands of the Hovas. Sakalava and Tanosy have been persuaded to enlist on the side of the invaders, and then left to the tender mercies of the Hovas, who have reconquered them, where they have not voluntarily come forward and submitted. Necessity has called forth the developing faculty of the Hovas, who have succeeded in making steel shells for their long-range Whitworth guns, and even in casting some serviceable cannon. Gold, silver, lead and iron are being extensively worked, gold dust having become quite a common article of commerce in the interior, some of which has already found its way to this country. Gunpowder has for very many years been manufactured in the Government stores near the capital; and they are expert in producing cartridges for the rifles in their possession.

The war—if it is worthy of the name—has been the means of calling out a great deal of innate power of

resource on the part of the Malagasy; but it is matter for sincere regrét that the energy of the people should thus be turned from the development of legitimate trade, commerce, civilisation and Christianity, which were advancing with such rapid strides under the genial influence of peace and the Gospel.

CHAPTER XII.

PRESENT CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE MALAGASY.

What interest has England in Madagascar?—Wealth of the island—Importance to Mauritius—Exports and imports—Slavery still existing, but slave trade abolished—Condition of slaves in the country—Social and political advance made during past twenty years—Laws codified—Executive Government remodelled—Justice impartially administered—Registrars appointed—All improvement and advance the result of English sympathy and philanthropy—The religious growth of the people—Toleration—Persecution—Enlightened encouragement of Christianity—Memorial churches—College—Extension of evangelistic work to other districts—Social advance—Improved services in the churches—Native preachers—Evangelists—English opposed to French missionary work—Norwegian Missionary Society—London Missionary Society—The Friends' Foreign Missionary Association—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—Educational work, by Protestants, by Catholics, by the Government—Table of Statistics—Literature.

It may be asked: "What interest has England in Madagascar, further than the interest of curiosity in watching the development and progress of a dark-skinned race of islanders from barbarism to civilisation, and from heathenism to Christianity?" This is certainly an interest always excited in the breast of every enlightened Englishman, who is ever on the side of advancement, and is always generously helpful to all struggling after its attainment.

But there are other than sentimental reasons why Englishmen look with anxiety upon the present check given to the Malagasy in their national advance. We remember that English money, arms, and ammunition were freely paid to Radama I. in 1818, and subsequently, in order that he might carry out his policy (which might be called the English policy also) of consolidating the various tribes of the island under one central governor. In this he was not only assisted substantially, as stated, but he was acknowledged and styled the "King of Madagascar," both by our own Government and by the French. Again and again England has rendered assistance to the Hova sovereign for this end; and even expensive expeditions have been sent to the Malagasy capital, ostensibly to cement the friendly relations between the two Governments, and to give encouragement to the island Queen, in which, though probably never stated, the impression has been given to the Malagasy officers of Government, that the English were still willing to help them in making the authority of the Queen solid and firm throughout the island.

Commercially, Madagascar is of great importance to Englishmen. Not only is the demand for English iron and cotton goods, glass and crockery becoming each year greater and more remunerative, but, as has been shown, the land can produce very many products in great and constant demand in this country. There is in Madagascar an unknown wealth of mineral productions, which is but waiting the establishment of confidence with Europeans on the part of the native Government, so that mining operations might be undertaken, and a fair outlay of English capital more than fully repay the capitalist.

Then, again, one of our small but flourishing colonies —the Mauritius—depends to a very large extent upon Madagascar for its food supply, especially for its beef, mutton, poultry and pork. This supply it has received regularly and easily from the native traders on the coast; but if the island is secured to the French, or the French obtain the mastery of the ports, many difficulties and complications are sure to arise, sooner or later, between the colonial traders and the French officers. It is also curious to note the piteous regret of the French subjects in Tamatave and Mahanoro, that they ever, by word or act, incited the French Government to undertake the present expedition. The fifty-three "children of France" who signed the petition to the President, telling him that if the Republic could not help them against the savage hordes of Madagascar, there was nothing for them to do but to wrap themselves in the colours of *La belle France*, and die in defence of the just rights of her outraged citizens, are now thoroughly disgusted with themselves for ever having been such fools as to have helped to drive the Hovas, and with them the trade, away from the coast.

But that which is a subject of annoyance to the French settlers, or colonists, as they were pleased to call themselves in the petition referred to above, is a matter of vastly greater regret to other nationalities. The trade of Madagascar is in the hands of Americans, English, Germans, French and Italians, and the proportional annual value of the imports and exports of each of those nations is in the order they are named. The value of the American commerce with the island is about equal to the value of the transactions in the hands of the English and French put together. Their

imports are grey sheeting and shirting, kerosine oil, and tinned goods; while the exports embrace chiefly hides, india-rubber, wax and gum. The English trade is about five times the value of that of the French, who are surpassed considerably by the Germans, although the latter are represented by but one or two firms. It is also a mistake to take for granted the impression the French colonists of Bourbon try to give—that French subjects are very numerous in Madagascar. It is well-known that the British subjects in the island far outnumber them, and the proportion of British to French settled there is said to be as five to one.

But direct British interests are, notwithstanding all this, far too small commercially to account for the anxiety felt in this country for the fate of the Great African Island. Neither is there any feeling of jealousy on our part underlying the deep sympathy felt for the people. The French press would have the world believe that English jealousy of the progressive colonial policy of France is the only reason for the sympathy expressed for the Malagasy. The anxiety of England is not against French aggrandisement, but she is moved partly by that strong feeling which hates to see either the powerful struck after he is down, or the weak bullied, thrashed, or annihilated. "But it seems impossible on the part of the French, especially those in the colonies of Bourbon, Nosi-be and St. Mary, to believe that English feeling for the Malagasy can be disinterested; and that there is not more than simply pity and compassion for those whose advancement we have watched with something resembling a fatherly interest.

It is not too much to say that no nation, with perhaps the exception of the Japanese, has made so much progress, and has shown so much vigour for development in civilisation and Christianity as the Malagasy, especially the Hovas, during the past twenty years. It is true, English philanthropy, coupled with the sterling good sense of the first great king of the Hovas, Radama I., introduced various arts and manufactures into the country in 1820, but on account of the over-weening bigotry of Radama's widow, who succeeded him, not much progress was made. At the same time, it was no encouragement to an artisan to make himself proficient in his art, when he knew that his skill would only render him liable to be constantly employed for the Queen or nobles, without the faintest hope of any remuneration. Instead of any stimulus being given to progress, it was rather retarded by the selfish policy of the Government.

But since her death, and especially since the late Queen, Ranavalona II. ascended the throne, giant strides have been made in social, political and religious progress. The arts of civilisation have been encouraged by those in authority. The people are well housed, well clothed, and well fed. The houses are better built, of better material, better arranged, and well furnished, with well-made native furniture. Ornamentation of a civilised type has taken the place of the crude and often gaudy attempts of twenty years ago: and the silversmith and goldsmith find plenty of employment. Carpenters, stonemasons, blacksmiths, bootmakers, and tailors have also learned to turn our articles which would be no discredit to workmen in this country, while the best buildings in the capital

would be no disgrace to the finest city in the world. The Queen's palace, with its four massive towers, the palatial residence of the Prime Minister, and the graceful spires of the stone Memorial Churches attract the attention of the most indifferent traveller, and call forth the admiration of all interested in the social advance of the world.

It is often remarked that a country possessing no roads better than sheep tracks cannot be occupied by any but a barbarous people, as the formation of roads is one of the first signs of advancement, and a ready means of communication the first requirement of civilisation. But in this connection it has to be remembered that not only do the Government and people possess an expeditious means of conveyance for news, despatches, &c., but their conservatism has always rendered them jealous of the interference of foreigners; and their patriotism has caused them to dread any great or sudden influx of those from the outside world who might become a source of dispute with other nations, or might even become so numerous as to wrest the government from the hands of the ruling powers. The native runners can carry a message from the capital to Tamatave, a distance of about 220 miles, in two and a half days; and although it seems cumbersome to Englishmen, burdens of some fifty to eighty pounds weight can be transported on men's shoulders by the same route in six or eight days. Hence, seeing that the people possess in their own capital and around it all the necessaries of a life far removed from barbarism, and are able to communicate rapidly with distant parts of the country, and depend to no material extent on the imports from

abroad, is it surprising that they have not expended money and labour upon road-making, which they knew would render their position in the centre of the island far less impregnable?

It may be said that this is a short-sighted policy, and, applying the rules of political economy to their case, that it is a shutting out of considerable wealth from the country. But it must be admitted that the first efforts of a Government ought to be directed to the strengthening of its position as ruler, law-maker, and judge. This the Hovas have been doing for the past few decades, in the face of violent opposition from the tribes in the country, and at times against the machinations of a foreign power that has been ready to make hollow treaties of protection with banished and outlawed rebel chiefs. Who that seriously thinks of the many efforts made by the French to gain a footing in the island, and their high-handed policy with the central Government, can wonder if the people elect to place no more facilities in their way to the capital, and prefer their position of comparative comfort to a life of greater wealth and luxury, at the expense of the probable loss of political existence?

Another blot on the fair page of social progress in Madagascar, and which is sometimes pointed at by detractors, is the system of slavery still in vogue. But considerable misapprehension exists relative to the position of the Malagasy slave towards his master. In what is now said there is no wish to palliate the error, or to give the idea that slavery is not an unmixed evil. However mild it may be in any country, it saps the energy and cripples the enterprise of the nation. But no form of it now exists in the country except a domestic

slavery; the slaves being the descendants of those taken in their civil wars.

By a treaty with England both Radama I. and Ranavalona I. abolished the export of slaves to Bourbon and Zanzibar; and the fearful scenes witnessed by early travellers to the capital, and detailed by Mr. Ellis and others, are now matters of the past. In 1877, by an edict of the late Queen, all the imported slaves and descendants of those brought from Mozambique and elsewhere were liberated. Option was given them of either remaining in the country as subjects of the Queen, or of leaving the island for their homes. As a matter of fact, I believe, all remained, and have never been treated but as the faithful people of the sovereign. Their liberation was real, and not, as was stated at the time, merely a ruse to obtain the good opinion of England.

Although the time has not yet come when the Government feel that all slavery may be safely abolished, yet the new code of laws greatly restricts the powers of the masters; and there is evidence that the system will of itself crumble away under the levelling influence of Christianity, and as the universal brotherhood in Christ becomes more clearly understood by the people. As instances of the laws circumscribing the powers of masters over slaves, may be mentioned the 40th in the Code, which enacts that, "Slaves in the district of Imerina cannot be sold into the coast districts; any person found disobeying this law will forfeit the slave sold, which slave shall revert to the crown, and one-third of the value be paid to the person who shall denounce such offence." All internal *slave-trade*, in the ordinary sense of the term, is stopped by the 45th clause, which says:—"Traffic

and speculation in slaves is forbidden, and the owner alone has the right to dispose of his slaves. Any person found buying and selling slaves for a speculation will be fined ten oxen and £2. In default of payment, the offender will be condemned to chains for a period corresponding to one day for every sixpence unpaid." And again, in No. 46, "It is understood that every person who buys a slave does so with the intention of retaining him in his household: if the purchase be made with the object of reselling, the buyer will be fined ten oxen and £2, for unlawful speculation in human beings;" and No. 47, "In all sales of slaves, both buyer and seller must notify the Government authorities for the purpose of registration. In default of registration, the sale is void. A registration fee of one shilling must be paid by each party."

It will be seen from the above that the system of slavery is an institution certainly recognised by the Government, but one which the Queen and Prime Minister are anxious to see gradually losing its power in the country. That the time will come when the Christianity of the people will lead them to see the unrighteousness of holding slaves, none intimately acquainted with the native character doubt for one minute; for we have known one and another slave-owning Church member free his or her slave, from a sense of the incongruity of Christian profession and this practice. While in the public ordinances of religious worship no difference is made between freemen and slaves, who sit side by side in our churches, yet all know that, amid the general freedom of speech allowed and practised by the missionary, there is the one tabooed subject of slavery, upon which it is ever dangerous to enter. One

and another who have unburdened their consciences in a sermon or address, have met with uproar or disturbance; and it is generally believed to be wiser to allow the gospel leaven to quietly work, to the pulling down of this vexatious and degrading institution. And that it is so is well known by residents. Mr. Clark, writing to the *Madagascar Times* on the subject of a recent disturbance caused by the speech of a missionary in one of the city churches, says:—"Some of us know that slavery here is an evil eating into the very vitals of the Malagasy Christians; it is the cancer which is deadening the Christian life of many of the best Christians. Some of them confess this to us in private; but although they talk of and glory in their martyrs of the persecution days, none of them are willing to be the first martyr in this question. No; they still try to persuade themselves and think that slavery and Christianity can continue to exist side by side, that they can have the one without giving up the other. And so they go on without being willing to take a single step to promote the ultimate abolition, either by making a law that after a certain number of years every child born shall be free, or by fixing a price at which any slave shall be able to redeem himself."

Great hardships sometimes are suffered by the slaves, who are always liable and often have to submit to be sold away from their families; and theoretically all that belongs to a slave is his master's. But in reality this is only acted on in part, as a general rule, the slave being free to make what engagements he pleases, paying to his master a portion of the wages he earns. Slaves are to be found in different parts of the country working for Europeans, and receiving wages as free

A MALAGASY CRIMINAL IN CHAINS.

(The chains are similar to those the martyrs were compelled to wear, in some cases for many years.)

men, whose masters appear to take no further care of them than to make periodical enquiries as to their whereabouts, which generally means that a sum of money, large or small according to the loyalty of the slave, is forwarded by him to his master.

The political advance made during the past twenty years is shown by an examination of the code of laws referred to above, which contains three hundred and five statutes. To each of these is attached the punishment to be inflicted in case of disobedience; and these penalties are characterised by a leniency scarcely to be anticipated from a nation so recently risen from barbarism. In no case is death inflicted except for such crimes as are considered capital in England,—murder and treason. Laws regulating the conscription for service in the army, for the first time made the army popular in the island, and brought forward many volunteers. A young man found that it was no longer a maxim that, "once a soldier, always a soldier," but that after five years' service he was again free. An important set of laws relating to the schools were promulgated. Attendance at school was made compulsory, and teachers were given a political standing. The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the interior of the country have been prohibited. The effect of these laws has been felt more or less throughout the country, and they have had a decidedly beneficial effect.

Again, the executive Government has been re-modelled. Although the supreme power rests nominally in the hands of the Queen, and really in those of the Prime Minister—a man of keen, shrewd intelligence, far beyond the next best man in the country—yet it has been

wisely deemed expedient to relegate some of his powers to subordinates. Taking the English Government as their model, the administration has been divided into eight departments, each with a Secretary of State at its head, who is responsible to the Prime Minister for the carrying out of the laws relating to that department. The Prime Minister, while "educating" these secretaries in the conduct of their office, is meanwhile keeping the power of veto and supervision in his own hands. If he is ever able to secure a staff of men at all to be compared with himself, there will be in Madagascar a most powerful central Government.

Justice is most impartially administered; when bribery is discovered it is severely punished, and the desire to have righteous judgments executed is a powerful feeling with the Prime Minister. When the temptations are particularly strong, he has been known to constitute himself chief judge on a trial, and work hour after hour throughout the day, in order that justice might be administered with impartial hand.

Registration of births, deaths, and marriages, sales of property and slaves, have been established, and carried out by a number of men in each large village, called "Friends of the village." These are not only the registrars, but the men responsible for the peace and order of the village, and in most cases the only representative of the central Government. They are the guardians of the civil rights of the people, and the only easy means of communication between the common people and the Government. They thus occupy a very important and responsible position, and are entrusted with all matters relating to the political and social order of their respective villages and districts. There

are over 6500 of these officers in Imerina, with one hundred and ninety-eight head stations. There is no Government officer in England whose position answers in every respect to that held by these *Sakaizambohitra.* They seem to combine, in a modified sense, the duties of all civic officers, from those of the mayor down to those of the common constable. They have no power, however, to settle any matter of importance, but have to report everything to the Prime Minister for final settlement.

The book of regulations with which they are supplied, and which has been circulated far and wide in the country, contains instructions with regard to divorce, polygamy, registration of births, deaths, and marriages, the annual returns of the residents in each village, all acts of oppression and causes of social disturbance, the sale or renting of land or houses, the registration of property, stealing, loans, false weights and measures, the cleaning of the roads and public thoroughfares of the villages, the non-separation of young slave children from their parents, and also general instructions with respect to the observance of the Lord's day, the attendance of children at school, and the proper regard to be paid to places of worship. For the work involved in the discharge of many of those duties the *Sakaizambohitra* receive small fees,[1] varying from two-pence to two-shillings.

Many of these men being old soldiers, and merely selected because of their general trustworthiness, and not on account of any special ability or judicial probity, were unable to read or write. This difficulty, however, was met by the appointment of some of the

[1] *Antananarivo Annual*, No. IV., p. 119.

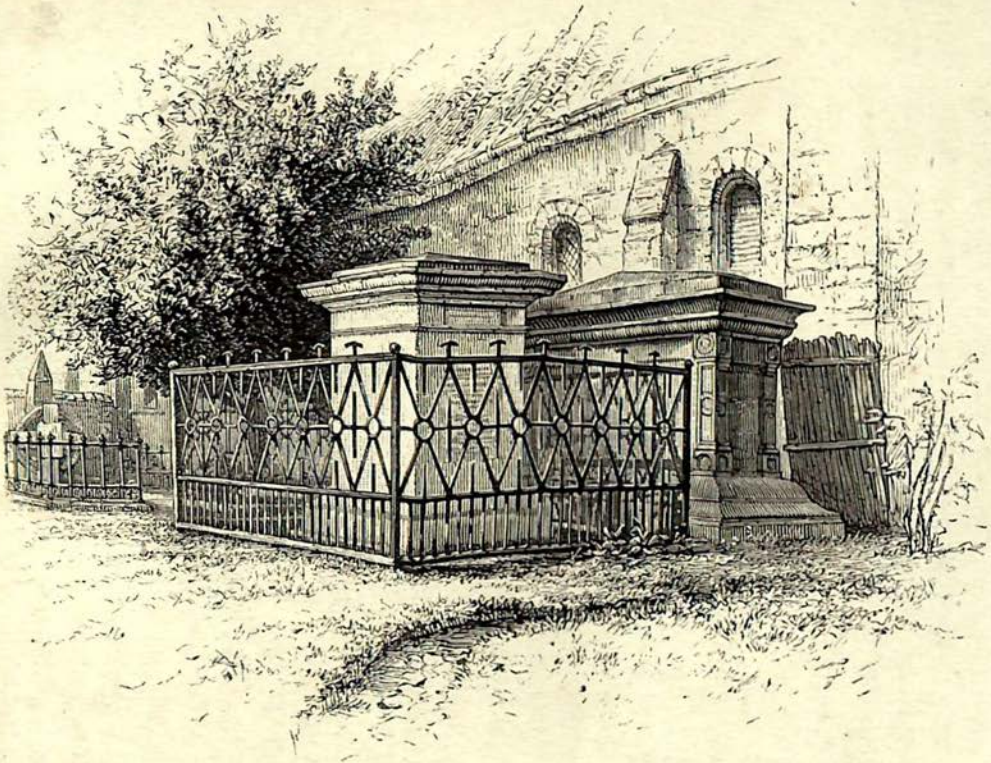
best scholars in the schools to accompany the functionary as clerks—as readers and writers. Although officers under the Government receive no stipend, yet the honour of being a Government clerk made these offices popular; and as only those were appointed who had passed the higher examinations in the schools, an impetus was thus given to education.

A like result was secured to the highest educational establishment in the island, by the selection of ten of the best educated of the students in the London Missionary Society's college to hold high offices in the newly-formed departments of the executive.

It is not far-fetched to say that all the foregoing improvements and the progress named have been either directly or indirectly the result of English sympathy and philanthropy. Englishmen, seeing a nation anxious to rise, and giving indications of a capability to effect this purpose, have come forward readily to lend a helping hand to the weak and struggling, and have done it too from pure disinterestedness.

But not only have Englishmen shown a deep interest in the commercial development of Madagascar as a market for English goods, and as a means of supplying the home market with the valuable products of the island; and not only has the British nation done much to strengthen the hands of the Hova Government, furnishing the means for centralising its authority and widening its influence, but both the interest taken in, the advance made, and the money devoted to that object have for years centered in the moral and spiritual growth of the people.

It was not till 1821 that Christianity was really effectively introduced among the Hovas; and the history



THE TOMBS OF THE EARLY MISSIONARIES AND MR. CAMERON, IN AMBATONAKANGA CHURCHYARD, ANTANANARIVO.

(The iron and stone work are of native manufacture.)

of its development has been one of the greatest marvels of the Christian Church. The trials and hindrances of these early pioneers of civilisation and Christianity do not here require to be entered upon. Mr. Ellis has fully described these matters in his various works on Madagascar. However, the language was reduced to writing, the Bible translated, a few scholars induced to attend the schools, a printing press set up, and a few converts gathered in. Interrupted and constantly harassed, troubled with the difficulties of their work and the opposition of the idol priests, the handful of English missionaries laboured on for twenty years. Then succeeded one of the fiercest persecutions for Christ's sake that the world has of late years seen.

Ranavalona I., who has been compared by some to the worst of the Roman emperors, to Nero or Caligula, and by others called the Malagasy Catherine II., whom she resembled in her vices, without having any of the redeeming qualities of that empress, commenced a religious crusade against Christianity. All kinds of inhuman cruelties were practised upon the converts, and many of those of the highest rank suffered death or imprisonment for their determination to serve the true God. Some were burned, others buried alive, others scalded to death, some speared, and others cast from the rock on which the capital is built, and dashed to pieces in the valley below. The missionaries were driven from the land, and, according to one writer, the city of Antananarivo became like a city blighted, which no one could approach or leave, but under pain of death. No stranger was allowed to seek residence in the capital except by special authority from the Queen, who accorded that favour to but five or six Europeans.

The silence of death reigned in "the city of a thousand villages," which was not disturbed but by the cries of the victims who were precipitated from the Tarpeian rock.

But notwithstanding the terrible trial, the honesty of the people's convictions was shown in the fact that, in spite of the number of nobles, of women and children even, who suffered for conscience' sake, when the country was re-opened for the return of missionaries in 1861, it was discovered that the numbers of Christians had, instead of diminishing, increased nearly thirty-fold. From that date till the present steady, rapid progress has been made; and the fiery trial through which the Church had passed seemed to have imparted a vigour which has exhibited itself in its subsequent history.

Radama II., who succeeded the persecuting Queen, was neutral in his conduct towards Christianity, but very decidedly favoured Europeans. Christians were allowed to worship openly, simply because the King ignored them, and they were happy in again welcoming their spiritual instructors, whom Radama was ready to welcome with other foreigners into his capital. This lasted but for a few months; and the King's immorality and disingenuousness hurried him into a premature grave. Liberty of conscience, but nothing further, was granted by his successor, Rasoherina. The Christians met with no opposition but from their idolatrous fellow countrymen, and even that was not openly indulged in by them. The upper classes of young nobles were becoming eager for instruction, and with the enlightenment, a knowledge of spiritual things entered their minds and hearts, so that in nearly every family of

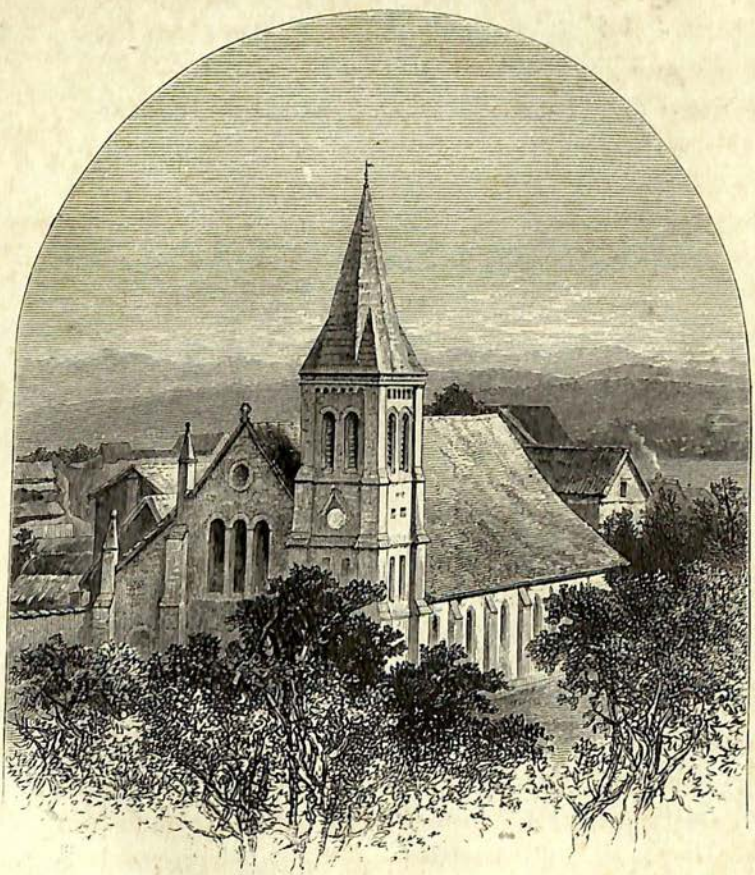
position the younger members were professed adherents to the new faith, while a kind of indifference to their idols was creeping into the life of the older members of these families. A spirit of change was in the air, and the country was ripe for the radical subversion of popular beliefs which took place soon after the Queen's death. This happened in April, 1868, and she was succeeded by Ranavalona II., the late lamented Queen, the meek "friend of the people." Once more was religious liberty proclaimed; but by very clear indications it was shown to the people that the power of idolatry was on the wane. Reference has already been made to the absence of the idol at the coronation ceremony, and to the very decidedly Christian spirit manifested by the mottoes emblazoned on the canopy over the Queen at her first appearance in public, heralding forth new sentiments for such an occasion, and giving unmistakable signs that all heathenish rites were set aside, and that the heads of the people recognised the growing power of the Gospel, even if it might not be taken as an indication of the faith of the new Government.

But in the following year, as we have already noted, a still more decided step in advance was made, by the Queen coming forward and publicly professing her adhesion to the religion for which her aunt persecuted her subjects. She and the Prime Minister were baptized, and public worship was for the first time conducted within the palace enclosure. Soon after this the Queen caused the idols of which she was supposed to be the keeper and patron to be burnt. This, performed publicly, against all opposition of the priests, was followed by the wholesale destruction of the house-

hold gods or fetishes in the possession of the people in the capital and around it.

Then began another testing time for the infant Church in the island, but of quite a different nature from that during Ranavalona I.'s reign. Now the people, voluntarily released from all connection with their ancient idolatry, flocked by thousands into the churches, demanding instruction and admission to Church communion, and threatening to swamp the Church by their overwhelming numbers. Had not God given grace of firmness and a desire for purity to the Church members, the result would have been most disastrous for the well-being of the Christian community. The missionaries spent their whole time in teaching and preaching. Services were held throughout the day, and every day. The whole business of the people seemed to be the acquisition of knowledge relating to Christianity. In fact, as Mr. Sibree says, "almost the whole population of Imerina professed themselves Christians." New churches were built both in the city and in every considerable village, and the work so rapidly increased that the society in England who had taken in hand the introduction of the Gospel into the island, was constrained to put forth every effort to meet the pressing demand for men and money.

So great was the enthusiasm and satisfaction felt in England, that in a couple of years after the destruction of the idols, the number of English missionaries at work in the capital and around it had increased fourfold. The Friends, seeing the need there was for efficient aid in the educational department, also joined heartily with the members of the London Missionary Society to assist in the great undertaking. The Friends'



AMBATONAKANGA CHURCH, ANTANANARIVO.

(The first stone Church built by the Malagasy, under European supervision, in memory of the martyrs.)

Foreign Missionary Association have from that time to the present most heartily co-operated with the missionaries of the London Missionary Society; and the union has been for the mutual strengthening of each other's plans and efforts. So far as the natives are concerned, no distinction is made between those who are joined with the Friends in the work and those connected with the London Missionary Society. In fact, it was soon discovered by the former that their hands were to a certain extent tied, by the endeavour they made to confine themselves to the work of education, and so by a mutual arrangement they took under their wing one of the city churches with its district, which had hitherto been in the charge of a missionary of the London Missionary Society.

Subscriptions were readily raised in this country to erect memorial churches to those martyrs who had suffered in the capital, and, under the efficient superintendence of English architects and builders, some fine stone churches now grace the different quarters of the city, from Ambohipotsy in the south, with its tall elegant spire, to Faravohitra in the north, the substantial building erected by the children of England, and called still the Children's Memorial Church. Schools were connected with each of these churches, and a Normal School for the training of teachers to supply the pressing want was also formed. The Friends' school partook also of that character, as many intelligent and worthy young men trained in that school are now labouring as schoolmasters in the country. Since its formation, the London Missionary Society's Normal School has prepared and sent out students, who have been carrying on the work of education in the various

districts connected with the Churches in the capital. Some trained schoolmasters have also been supplied to new districts, thus relieving the missionaries of the necessity of training their own teachers before the work could be efficiently carried on.

But a higher and special training was required by those whose lives were to be devoted to the preaching of the Gospel; and in Madagascar the fact that where it is possible the natives should be trained to take this work upon them, has always been kept in mind by those who have directed the work. That a time will come when the English missionary should be withdrawn has always been pointed out to the Malagasy as an additional incentive to his fitting himself to fill the English teacher's place. No difficulty has been experienced in obtaining plenty of volunteers for this work, but a long, laborious, and self-abnegating preparation was required. To supply this, a Theological College was commenced in 1869, with the view of supplying each missionary with an efficient assistant. A small building was secured in the centre of the capital, and under the superintendence of such earnest and devoted men as the Revs. R. Toy and G. Cousins, a number of well-qualified evangelists were sent out, to be a powerful item in the progressive work. Some of these early students are even now the most influential men, both in the native pastorate and among the counsellors of the Government. One is the pastor of the Church within the palace enclosure, or the Palace Church, as it is frequently called, another is the most accomplished orator in the capital, and a third the present Governor of Tamatave.

As time went on, the Theological College was extended into a general college, in order to meet the requirements

of the upper class youths who, while desirous of securing a higher education, were not proposing to devote themselves to the work of the ministry. A more commodious building was required, and English liberality enabled the mission to erect a splendidly proportioned edifice, containing all the requirements of a first-class educational establishment, with conveniences for small or large classes and a magnificent lecture hall. Under the same roof are two dwelling-houses for the tutors: the whole building being one of the most conspicuous ornaments in that part of the capital.

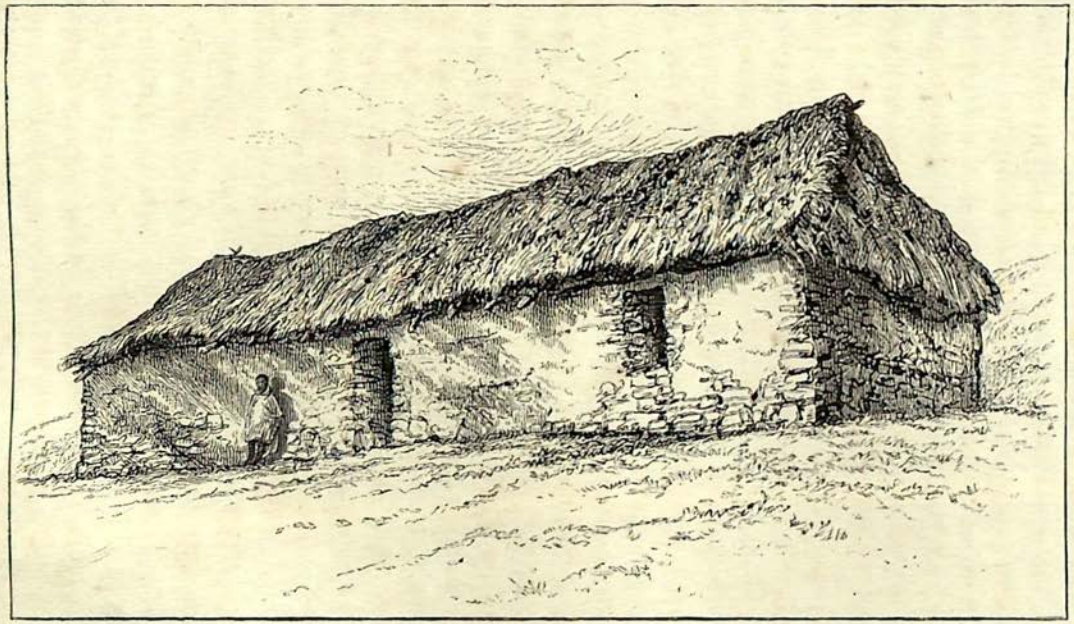
That this institution is worthy of its name is seen from the fact that instruction is given by two English resident tutors and two native assistants in Theology, Exegesis, Scripture History, Church History, Hermeneutics, Homiletics, Astronomy, Physical and General Geography, Algebra, Arithmetic; History of England, Greece, Rome, &c.; Logic, Grammar, English. While classes are held regularly for the study of these subjects, occasional lectures are given by different members of the London Missionary Society and the Friends' mission on various interesting topics, embracing Natural History, Physiology, Political and Social problems, Biography and Philosophy.

In 1870 this work of Christianising was extended beyond the central province of Imerina to the Betsileo, amongst whom a successful work has been carried on. Schools and churches have sprung up all over the province; a Normal School has done good work in providing teachers; evangelists have been trained and located in various centres, a Young Men's Christian Association has been providing for the higher wants of the young men, and a Home Missionary Society has

furnished men and equipped them for carrying on aggressive work further south.

The same has been done for a province in the north, the Sihanaka, where since 1875 vast strides in moral and spiritual progress have been made, and the social condition of the inhabitants has been vastly improved by the settlement of European missionaries amongst them. In all these districts superstition has been losing its hold upon the people; polygamy has, if not absolutely abolished, at any rate become very rare; and cleanly, wholesome habits have been taking the place of the old filth and discomfort. Divination and sorcery are almost unheard of, and the people may, as a whole, be said to be all nominally Christian.

A complete change for the better has during the past few years come over these people. A desire for improvement is evinced, and a spirit of progress has taken possession of them. Their houses are no longer the filthy little hovels of one room only, which was made to answer for every purpose; their churches they have endeavoured to make, both in outward appearance and in internal ornament, worthy of the worship to be conducted in them; and their clothing is no longer the small greasy piece of matting, or rofia cloth, but in this too they have striven to imitate the Europeans. So that on Sunday, in one of the better-built churches, a stranger would not only see nothing to offend his taste, but he would find as much order and decorum among the well-dressed, clean worshippers as he would find at home—not perhaps in outward form of worship, as the people as a rule do not change their position from when they come in till they leave the church, except bowing the head in prayer—but in the quiet,



A NATIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF THE OLD STYLE.

(*From a Photograph by Mr. A. Kingdon.*)

attentive devotion. Even this, however, is improving with other things, and many of the newer churches are furnished with seats, and then the people rise to sing, as in this country; but this cannot be said to be anything like universal.

Not only has the general demeanour of the worshippers thus improved, but every part of the Church services has been undergoing a like change. The psalmody has become more and more congregational, not being left to a small body of singers to "perform" most elaborate and difficultly-learnt pieces of music, but all endeavouring to join in praising God. Very many of our best hymns are translated into the native language, and have become favourites with the people. But those which have as a whole taken the fancy of the Malagasy Christian most, are the translations of the *Sacred Songs* of Sankey, sung to the same tunes. There is a ring about them which has caught the ear and imagination of the people, and they seem never to tire of singing them. By the help of the Tonic sol-fa, which very many of the young people have learned, they have been supplied with a large selection of tunes, which they sing in parts most effectively.

In the same way the preaching by the natives has been improved. This is doubtless to be accepted as one of the indirect benefits derived from the college. Mr. Cousins, speaking of the subject, says, "Malagasy preachers have still much to learn, and in spiritual insight, high tone, and moral force are sadly deficient; but in matter, breadth of thought, arrangement, style, and delivery, there are many acceptable and efficient preachers. In these respects there no longer exists the great difference between the European and the native

that formerly was so striking. To the college this is in no slight measure due."

This, however, only applies to the better class of trained preachers and pastors, those who have passed through a regular course of instruction. There are a great number who have but a limited knowledge of the subjects treated of in the Bible, which, however, they profess to expound. There are over four thousand preachers in Madagascar; but though many of them are not worthy of the name, yet it is an indication of the bent of the mind of the people; and if the desire to preach and extend Christ's kingdom is recognised, fostered, and trained, these men, who perhaps most nearly correspond with the local preachers among the Wesleyans, will become an immense power in the nation, and notably in the Church life of the Christians. And even now, who can estimate the value of the few words earnestly spoken in the many dark places, into which these Malagasy preachers itinerate, where, but for their message of salvation, the voice of the Gospel would seldom be heard? Engaged in trading or Government service during the week, they endeavour to seek the spiritual good of their fellow-countrymen on the Sabbath. They are a great support to the missionary and native pastors, and had it not been for the assistance they have rendered, it would have been impossible to carry on the work that has been accomplished.[1]

From the trained men have been selected the evan gelists and native missionaries since 1873, when the first batch of students left the college; and the number of these valuable workers has been increased from year to year, as the young men have finished their course of

[1] Rev. C. Jukes in *Madagascar: Ten Years' Review*, p. 139.

study. Some are sent to distant places, on the north-east, south-east, and south-west, while others occupy important centres, under the direct control of a missionary superintending the district in which the town is situated. In their spheres they do a work very similar to that carried on by the missionary in his station—holding Bible classes for all, preachers' classes, teaching in the schools, forming boarding schools, singing and sewing classes, visiting the sick, as well as preaching on the Sabbath. By these means the Gospel has spread in a marvellously rapid way over those parts of the island into which missionaries have penetrated and settled; the people have been raised in social position; education has taken a firm hold; and, by the blessing of God, the same result will follow earnest endeavour in other parts of the island.

To a very great extent this improvement, the statistics of which we give below, is due to the help rendered by English Christians, who have spent not less than £23,000 a year for the past five or six years, and a considerable proportion of that sum every year since 1870. For, although to the French Jesuits is due the honour of having commenced missionary work in Madagascar, their missionaries were stationed only on islands off the coast, and at the posts formed by the French in their abortive attempts to gain possession of the island in the eighteenth century, and they abandoned the work when their Government withdrew from the coast. And since 1862, when a mission was formed in Antananarivo and Tamatave, to be augmented by those in the Betsileo, although they have had a large number of priests, lay brothers and sisters of mercy at work at various times, yet they have never laid a firm hold upon

the people. It seems strange that, with their love of the gorgeous, the Malagasy have not been particularly attracted by the ritual of the Roman Catholics. Doubtless this is in part owing to the detestation in which their nationality is held, as also to the firm conviction which all the Malagasy have, that the Bible is the foundation of all Christianity, and they are not inclined to follow or believe any form of worship which cannot be shown to be taught by that Book. Hence even Jesuit priests are compelled to read the Bible in their services, and use what devices they may to convince their adherents that their form of worship is taught therein. As this is not an easy matter, notwithstanding the prevarication and untrue statements employed, no firm hold has been obtained by them upon the adult population. Hence their wily influence has been principally brought to bear upon the young, whom they have cajoled and bribed into consenting to have themselves enrolled as pupils of the priests, knowing full well that, according to the native law, no pupil can leave one school to join another of a different denomination. Perfect liberty has been granted by the Government to all its subjects to worship how or where they pleased; and every parent has been absolutely free to select the school to which he would send his children to be taught; but having once entered the name as a pupil of one society, the child could not be withdrawn except under very exceptional circumstances, and by appeal to the Government.

A good work has been done by the Norwegians. Three of their missionaries arrived in the capital in 1867, and, by an arrangement with the London Missionary Society, commenced work in the unoccupied

and heathen district of Vakinankaratra, between Imerina and the Betsileo. They were welcomed heartily by the missionaries as fellow-workers, and those friendly relations have been maintained. After working for many years in their own district with very marked success, they felt they laboured under a great disadvantage in not having a representative Church in the capital, and accordingly in 1875 a prominently placed, well-built church was opened in Antananarivo. To this was attached a theological seminary containing an average of twenty students, whose course of training resembles that obtained in the London Missionary Society's College, with Greek and Norwegian taught to the cleverest of the students. An asylum for girls was opened in 1872, and one for boys in 1873, the former having about sixty, and the latter thirty pupils, where, by their long residence in a Christian family, a training is given which places these young people at a much higher moral and religious elevation than any other kind of education could possibly accomplish.

Mr. Dahle, in 1880, says of their work: "Being by principle and experience very cautious in admitting people into our Churches, we have only been able to receive a small number into Church membership. The total number of our Church members is therefore only about 1400, and the average number of people who congregate in our Churches on Sundays is about 12,000. Our native agents (teachers and preachers) are about 150 to 200." Beside this mission in the interior, the Norwegians are the only men who have laboured on the west coast, where for some nine or ten years they have had one or two missionaries stationed. But owing to various causes—the unhealthiness of the climate and

the unsettled state of the country—they have not been cheered with many direct evidences of success.

The work done by Englishmen in evangelisation and civilisation has been conducted by three or four societies. The London Missionary Society, whose work has been in part described, has had the honour of leading the van. Recommencing work in 1862, under the leadership and superintendence of Mr. Ellis, than whom no one has done more for Madagascar, the missionaries quickly found their way to the confidence and respect of the people. The Queen, Prime Minister, and chief nobles have always declared themselves adherents of this Society, and are members of Churches founded under its auspices, and according to its teaching. The number of missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society has gradually increased from the half-a-dozen in 1862, to twenty-nine in 1885, including the ladies devoted to the teaching of the girls in the capital, and at Fianarantsoa. The numbers of adherents have increased in a far greater proportion. In 1862 there were about 7000, but now there are over 300,000, while in 1880 there were reported to be 4134 preachers.

Working in thorough and hearty co-operation with the London Missionary Society is the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association, the first of whose missionaries arrived in Antananarivo in 1867; and so close has been the union between the two societies, that, in the eyes of the natives, both are "as brethren joined together in one common work." By this close union each has been benefited; one has stimulated the other with advice and example, and the work has been done the better for the united sympathy and action. The Friends came into the field with the avowed intention "of doing

nothing to unsettle the minds of the native Christians on any of the minor points of Christian doctrine on which their own views might differ from those of the missionaries already at work in the island; while they felt such full unity of sentiment with them in all that was fundamental, that a clear field of labour appeared before them, in which, while being on an independent footing, they could work by the side of and with those already in the field, for the one great end of bringing the knowledge of salvation to this dark land. And so, in regard to Church government and organisation, they had no difficulty in accepting what they found already in vogue."[1] In 1871 the Friends agreed, with the consent of the London Missionary Society, to take over one Church in the capital, Ambohitantely, with its district, but to work it "in union with the other Churches in Antananarivo, bound by whatever arrangement the Churches generally have entered into, or may hereafter enter into." That is to say, this Church was still connected with the Congregational Union.

As nearly as possible, the Friends have worked along the same lines followed by the London Missionary Society, in the matter of Church government allowing the native Christians to adopt such measures as seemed most in accordance with their mode of thought, so long as the plans were scriptural. Hence the form of Church government has developed into a kind of modified Congregationalism, having a large element of Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism, Wesleyanism, and Quakerism infused into it. This has been found to work well, without in the least hampering the workers, and, it is

[1] Report of Friends' Committee. *Madagascar: Ten Years' Review*, p. 265.

believed, to the great advantage of the Christianity of the country. The Friends have also heartily fostered the principle of self-help so strongly advocated by the London Missionary Society's missionaries, with a view to some of their adherents becoming missionaries in connection with the Native Home Missionary Society. The district thus worked upon by the Friends is a tract of country wedge-shaped, having its apex in the capital, and spreading out to the south-west, containing a population estimated at 200,000. It was the district which was the last of those connected with the city churches to come under the influence of the Gospel, being only fourteen years ago inhabited by robbers, who obtained a livelihood by men-stealing and cattle-lifting, who were idolaters, and among whom were no schools.

However, under the able superintendence of such men as Mr. Sewell, the character of the district was soon changed; chapels and schools sprang up, and were carefully tended, until now there are over 120 churches, with an aggregate attendance on Sabbaths of over 19,000 persons, nearly 4,000 of whom are Church members.

The other missionary society spending English money in Madagascar is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1862 an agreement was made between Bishop Ryan, in Mauritius, and Mr. Ellis, as representing the London Missionary Society, that, inasmuch as the latter was firmly established in the central province, that should be considered its special sphere; and that the Church of England missionaries should confine themselves to the coast. This was so arranged in order that the minds of the people might not be disturbed by the appearance of two different sets of Protestant teachers, each with their own peculiar doctrines and forms of

Church government and ritual. Accordingly two members of the Church Missionary Society settled on the coast, one, in 1864, at Vohimaro, the other, in 1866, at Andovoranto, and a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was placed at Tamatave in 1864. All worked well, until the latter society endeavoured to extend their mission by securing a bishop for Madagascar, with the intention of placing him at Antananarivo with a staff of clergy, in opposition to the above agreement. On the application to the Archbishop of Canterbury for license to consecrate a bishop, his lordship declined, for, as he very truly said, "the advent of a bishop in Madagascar would be calculated to produce schism in the Anglican community, and therefore have an injurious effect on the conversion of the heathen of that country."

After the appointment had gone begging for some time it was offered to the Rev. R. Kestell-Cornish, of the High Church party, and at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Scottish Bishops consecrated him in February 1874 as Bishop for Madagascar—a Bishop without a diocese, cathedral, or clergy, and consecrated for the purpose of endeavouring to build up a Ritualistic Anglican Church upon the foundations already laboriously laid by the London Missionary Society. The Church Missionary Society, feeling that they could not countenance such, to say the least, ungenerous conduct, withdrew from the country rather than remain and appear to be indifferent to the breaking of an express agreement under which they had been successfully labouring for seven or eight years.

The work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the capital began in 1872. A church was commenced, and a few village stations have been opened,

mostly in villages in which there is already a church belonging to one of the other Protestant societies, or in close proximity to one. Schools were formed and a hospital opened. But the general impression given even by their own men is that they have been disappointed at the results.

Nevertheless, a great deal of English money has been spent by them in erecting churches, schools and mission houses; in the former, doing more for the natives at the present time in proportion than either of the other English societies, who have acted upon the principle of encouraging the people to build their own churches and schools, and simply helping them with a donation to purchase those fittings not to be found in the country, such as glass, locks, hinges, &c.

Elementary education has by every Protestant society been looked upon as of the utmost importance to the well-being of the mission, and strenuous efforts have been made to render this department throughly efficient. The Government too have readily recognised the value of education, and have again and again during the past twenty years made spasmodic efforts to improve the school system. Messages have been once and again sent to Governors at a distance, to command the people to send their children to school, "because the Queen did not wish to have fools, but wise men as her subjects." But after a little fussy stir in the district all was once more forgotten. Occasionally names would be written of all the children in a Governor's district who were at school, and an estimate was obtained of those still remaining away, and a threat was held over the head of the latter that they would be taken for soldiers. Then for a short time a marked increase in the attendance would be noticed.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic priests, in their desire to check the education which would of necessity in course of time undermine their ascendency, adopted a policy I have seen carried out in one district, and which I have heard has been tried in others. In order to prevent children wandering from school to school, the Government, while permitting the children to choose the school to which they would go, interdicted them from leaving it. Accordingly, the priests gave it out, for the benefit of those ignorant parents who for various causes were glad of an excuse for not sending their children to school, that if they would but give in the names of their children to them, and would come and worship with them on Sundays, they should be excused from sending their children during the week. The consequence was that dozens of names of children appeared in the registers of the priests' schools who not only never attended school, but who were encouraged thus to hoodwink the Government authorities behind the shield of the priests, in consideration of attendance at mass.

In one part of the country, the Betsileo, this dishonest dealing led to serious disturbances with the native authorities, and the priests chose to represent to the French Consul that they were being persecuted as Frenchmen.

But in 1881 the educational system was put upon a new and firmer basis. One of the eight Secretaries of State was an intelligent officer entrusted with this department, and a rapid change in the improvement of all kinds of elementary schools was the result of his administration. All children over 7 and under 14 years of age were to attend school regularly. To effect

this, the names of all children between those ages were written in the Government books, and the school to which they preferred to go. Agents were appointed in every centre to see that the children actually attended instruction every day the schools were open, unless illness or some other sufficient cause prevented. Teachers' and monitors' names were also registered, and no removal could take place without information being sent to head-quarters. Certain fines were to be inflicted upon the teachers if they knowingly permitted the infringement of the laws by their scholars.

Although the Government has thus taken the school attendance in hand, and the scholars may in a sense be said to be Government pupils, yet, as a matter of fact, the missionary in whose schools the children are taught has the fullest control over all arrangements, examinations, holidays and the like. As Mr. Clark points out:—"Theoretically, the connection of the missionary with the schools is anomalous; practically, there is no difficulty whatever. We are *permitted* to visit these schools and to provide school-books; we are *permitted* to examine the schools; but if we do this we must *inform*—they do not say *ask leave of*—the head of the department in town. If we were disposed to be captious, we might find cause of complaint in all this, but it is not worth while; and so for the present we go on our way, doing the best we can under the permission so graciously given us, and thankful that we can thus influence for good those thousands of the rising generation in Central Madagascar."[1]

From a schedule issued by the Government, we find that after the completed registration there are 1167

[1] *Antananarivo Annual*, No. VI., p. 99.

schools and 150,906 scholars, divided among the various societies thus:—

	Schools.	Scholars.
London Missionary Society and Friends' Foreign Missionary Association	818	105,516
Norwegian Missionary Society . . .	117	27,909
French Jesuit Mission	191	14,960
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel .	41	2,521

Notwithstanding the outbreak of hostilities with the French, the Queen has issued most explicit orders that the work of education must not flag. In the absence of the priests, many of the Roman Catholic scholars are attending the schools of the other missions; but no opposition is offered to the native Catholics in their attendance at their own places of worship on the Sabbath.

The spread of education has also created a desire for literature, and the want is being supplied as rapidly as five mission printing establishments in constant work can meet the demand. School books by the hundreds of thousands have been issued for the use of scholars, while the magazines and books are bought eagerly by the young men. The native *Good Words* has a monthly sale of about 3,000, and is growing in favour and circulation. The *Children's Friend*, illustrated with engravings that have appeared in the English paper of the same name, is very popular among our school children; and a paper with the plates of the *British Workman*, and called *Vary Tondrahantantely* (rice mixed with honey), is read in many households, the large first-page picture being subsequently utilised as a wall-decoration. That the rising generation are becoming more and more thoughtful, is shown by the ready and large sale secured by such books as a

Treatise on Logic, Astronomy, Physical Geography, and a quarterly magazine called the *Mpanolo-tsaina* (the Thought-or Counsel-giver). The preachers and Bible students find their wants are met by the various *Commentaries,* a *Bible Dictionary,* an *Introduction to the Old and New Testaments, Pilgrim's Progress,* the *Patriarchs,* the *Companions of Our Lord, Fifty-two Outlines of Sermons,* and many other books of a like nature.

The Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society have each assisted in this work. By grants of paper, &c., from the former, books can be sold in the country at a price to cover the printing, &c., and by the help of the latter, Bibles and Testaments, to the number of 132,000 in 9½ years, have been sold for the cost of carriage, &c., from England.

The above facts and figures tell their own tale of substantial progress by the ruling race in the island. We have seen that this influence is gradually extending over the whole country, and, judging by the past, we dare entertain well-grounded hopes that the progress in the future will be even more marked and more rapid, if the nation is allowed to develop under the auspices of enlightened Protestantism. And inasmuch as it has been shown that a very great deal of this material, social, political, and Christian progress has been accomplished by the aid of Englishmen and English money, we contend that England has some right to feel a deep interest and intense sympathy for those who have repaid her care by rising from heathenism to Christianity, and from barbarism to civilisation.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FAUNA OF MADAGASCAR.

Theories to account for specialised character of the fauna—Mr. A. Wallace's theory—Remains of an ancient and extinct fauna—Comparatively small amount of animal life in the forests—Lemurs—Aye-aye—*Pintsala*—*Fosa*—*Genetts*—Ichneumon—Wild cats—*Centetes*—Bats—Domestic animals—Horses—Sheep—Pigs—Reptiles—Chameleons and lizards—Snakes—Frogs—Tortoises—*Æpyornis*—Eagles—Falcons—Hawks—Crows—Weaver-finches—Fody—Parrots—Aquatic birds—*Lepidoptera*—Spiders—Bees—Ants—*Coleoptera*—Fresh-water shrimps—Toho—*Zompona*—Sharks.

No part of the world has proved so interesting to the zoologist or such a paradise to the botanist as the island of Madagascar. The former has for long past been puzzled in his endeavours to account for the peculiar species of animal life represented, so different from those found in the adjoining continent, while apparently more closely connected with the families found in India and the Malay peninsula and islands. Various theories, more or less far-fetched, have been started to account for this by the many eminent zoologists who have given much thought and study to the endeavour to reduce the varied and peculiar facts to something like an orderly system, and give a reasonable justification for their position. Perhaps

the theory which has held the longest place in the acceptance of the scientific world has been the one started by Dr. Sclater, the Secretary of the Zoological Society of London. He accounted for the similarity between the Malagasy fauna and that of the south-east of Asia by supposing that a continent had existed uniting the two, but had since become submerged. And many naturalists have spoken of his *Lemuria* as though it was an established fact, requiring no further proof or discussion. It is difficult to understand this, in the face of the results of the nautical expeditions for scientific purposes, which go to prove that, notwithstanding the existence of the Laccadive and Maldive islands, Mauritius and Bourbon, there is no internal evidence in the Indian Ocean to give any colour to the theory. The bed of the Indian Ocean is known to be of extreme depth, except around the islands; while there is abundance of evidence to warrant the supposition that Madagascar may have been connected with Africa physically. Numbers of islands dot the sea on the west, and the Mozambique Channel is remarkably shallow.

The last and greatest writer on this subject, Mr. A. Wallace, is the only one who has advanced a theory which appears to be supported by the facts of geology and physical geography. His idea is that Madagascar was never connected with Asia by a submerged continent, which he not only proves conclusively could have had no existence, but he shows also that had such a land connected the two continents of Asia and Africa, it would have prevented the survival of those problems of zoology for which the theory was supposed to account. As he says: "the alleged continental ex-

tensions, had they existed, would have left no such fact to be explained." Then, again, there are abundant evidences to show that Madagascar was at a remote period smaller than it is at present. Fossils found by the Rev. J. Richardson in the south-west, considerably inland, belong to the Secondary period. But at the same time Madagascar is surrounded by a coral reef extending almost continuously for over 400 miles along the east coast, and in broken patches along the north and west coasts. This, according to the theory of Mr. Darwin and other eminent scientific men, is a sure sign that the land is sinking, and was at some former period larger than it is at present. These facts—of the increase of the island at one period; its partial subsidence at another; taken into conjunction with a probable connection with Africa by an isthmus across the Mozambique Channel—give some idea of the difficulty as well as the interest attaching to the special fauna and flora of the island. To again quote from Wallace:—"The problem presented by these ancient islands is often complicated by the changes which they themselves have undergone since the period of their separation. A partial subsidence will have led to the extinction of some of the types that were originally preserved, and may leave the ancient fauna in a very fragmentary state: while subsequent elevations may have brought it so near to the continent, that some immigration even of mammalia may have taken place. If these elevations and subsidences occurred several times over, though never to such an extent as again to unite the island to the continent, it is evident that a very complex result might be produced; for besides the relics of the ancient fauna, we might have successive immigrations from

surrounding lands, reaching down to the era of existing species."

At one time it was thought, notwithstanding the mythical tales told in the works of early writers on Madagascar, relating the existence of enormous birds, tigers, elephants, &c., that none of the large mammalia so common in Africa had ever lived in the island. But beside the bones and eggs of the enormous *Æpyornis* found in the south-west by many travellers and collectors, M. Grandidier describes the fossil remains of a hippopotamus which he discovered in the southern part of the island. A few years since, the indefatigable German traveller, Dr. Hildebrandt, unearthed several skeletons, more or less perfect, in a semi-fossil state, from the limestone beds in the northern part of the Vakinankaratra district, about 60 or 80 miles south of the capital. From those I had the opportunity of examining, the animal appears to have been about four feet high, and seven or eight feet long, the head being eighteen inches from snout to juncture with the neck. This animal is now, as far as we know, extinct in Madagascar, but it doubtless points to the origin of the ancient native names of the island, *Nosbi-dambo*, or Island of Boars, and they were at one time probably very numerous.

Mr. Wallace accounts for the peculiarly specialised character of the fauna and flora of Madagascar by first showing that many of these forms were in remote periods of almost world-wide distribution, as proved by their fossil remains in the Tertiary formations. Then he submits as a theory that the ancient islands, such as Madagascar, long since entirely isolated, are just the spots in which the ancient forms would "survive,"

because not pressed upon by other and more energetic forms and species, which have in course of time obliterated them from the continents. This is certainly a far more feasible and acceptable way of accounting for the hitherto unexplained phenomena, than the cumbrous and far-fetched supposition of a submerged continent, and certainly more in accordance with the geological facts.

One fact which strikes every traveller in Madagascar is the lack of animal life. Passing through the forest scarcely a creature is to be seen. It is only by waiting, watching, and searching that the patient collector is rewarded. Of the few families of mammalia found, the most peculiar, as well as the most abundant and widely diffused throughout the island, is the *Lemuridæ*. These include some six genera and thirty-three species: that is to say, very nearly half the number of the known species of the island. Some of these lemurs are of large size, standing (in the hind hands) three feet six, or four feet, such as the *Indris* and the Black Lemur of the Betsileo; while others, such as the *Microcebus Smithii*, is not more than four inches from snout to root of tail. They, generally speaking, inhabit the forest region, where their piercing cries or long mournful wails can be heard for miles in the otherwise quiet and apparently lifeless solitude. As the various species are unlike in appearance and size, so they are unlike in habits. Some are diurnal, others nocturnal, of every shade of colour, from the purest white to the intensest black. Some feed entirely upon fruits and berries; others enjoy, if they do not wholly subsist on, insects, spiders, beetles, and moths. Some have long bushy tails; others smooth round ones; others have no tail at all.

Some have long claws; others have smooth, soft, flat hands. Some are gentle, easily trained, and used as pets by the people; while others are savage, repulsive, and very difficult indeed to tame.

Of those which have come more directly under my observations, having been kept in confinement and their habits noted, the following may be described, as showing the very various and distinct character of the animals belonging to the *Lemuridæ*.

One of the prettiest as well as the gentlest is the ring-tailed lemur (*L. catta*, L.). As far as my experience goes, these are only found in the south and south-western borders of the Betsileo. This province is about 150 miles in length by 50 or 60 in width, and is situated on the central table-land, about 100 to 250 miles south of the capital. A forest extends along the whole eastern side of this province, fringing the table-land, and covering all the slopes down into the lowland bordering the sea; but nowhere in these forests have the ring-tailed lemurs been found, although H. Schlegel says, "this species inhabits the forest in the south-east of Madagascar, and has never been observed in any other part of the island."[1] Their habitat is among the rocks, over which they easily travel, but where it is impossible for the people, though bare-footed, to follow. An examination of their hands shows that they are pre-eminently adapted for this kind of locomotion. The palms are long, smooth, level, and leather-like, and enable the animals to find a firm footing on the slippery, wet rocks, very much on the same principle as that which assists the fly to walk up a pane of glass. The thumbs on the hinder hands are very much

[1] *Recherches sur la Faune de Madagascar.*

smaller in proportion than in the lemurs inhabiting the forests, and which depend upon their grasping power for their means of progression. These spring from tree to tree, and rarely, if ever, touch the ground, except in search of water.

Hence the ring-tailed lemurs are an exception to the general habits of the *Lemuridæ*, in that they are not arboreal. There are very few trees near their district, and those which do grow are very stunted and bushy.

These lemurs are provided with two long canine teeth or fangs in the upper jaw, those of the male being considerably longer than those of the female. These they use to tear away the outer coating of the fruit of the prickly pear, which is full of fine spines, and constitutes their chief article of winter food, and which grows abundantly in the crevices and around the foot of the rocks. Their summer food consists of different kinds of wild figs and bananas. Their fangs are doubtless used as weapons of self-defence, although when fighting I have noticed that they depend a great deal upon their hands, with which they strike and scratch. I have seen the male put a dog larger than itself to the rout in this way.

In captivity they will eat almost any kind of fruit, but do not like meat in any form. Mr. Baron, however, says they are very fond of spiders. By a little care they can be induced to feed upon cooked rice, upon which they thrive. In their natural state they do not drink, as is proved not only from the native accounts, but also by the fact that for the first month or two after being caught, and while living on bananas, they do not drink. It is curious that all those living on the west, including the two species of white lemurs, appear

to subsist without water; while all those on the east invariably drink at their meals.

Another interesting species is the broad-nosed lemur (*Hapalemur simus*, Gray). It lives in the higher level forests on the eastern side of the Betsileo, among the bamboos, on which it appears in a great measure to subsist. Its teeth are different from those of any other kind of lemur with which I am acquainted. It has the few sharp outwardly inclined teeth in the lower jaw in the front, in common with all lemurs, and which they use as scrapers, and not to bite with. Beside these, nearly all its teeth are serrated cutting-teeth, and are arranged, not in opposition, but so as mutually to intersect. In this respect it is admirably accommodated to suit the country in which it lives, as with the greatest facility it can bite off the young shoots of the bamboo, and mince up a whole handful of grass-blades and stalks at once, each bite cutting clean, like a pair of scissors. Like very many grass-eating animals, it seems to feed all day long. For several months I had one fastened on the lawn, and it scarcely ceased gathering the grass within its reach and eating it from morning till evening. It is also unlike other lemurs in its dislike of fruit. I have tempted it with very many kinds of berries and fruits growing in the forest, but it would not touch any of them. It is very fond of cooked meat and also of sugar-cane. It is furnished with a remarkably broad pad on each of the hinder thumbs, by means of which it is enabled to grasp firmly even the smoothest surfaces. Unlike most other lemurs, its head is round, although the female has a somewhat more pointed snout than the male. Its cry is peculiar, at times resembling the quack of the duck, at other

THE BROWN-MOUSE LEMUR.

(From the only specimen that ever reached England alive. It was brought home by Mr. SHAW, in 1878, and is now in the Zoological Gardens.)

times loud and piercing. Its tail is long, but not bushy. It uses it as the *Lemur catta* does, to curl round its neck for warmth.

In 1878 I brought to England a specimen of the brown-mouse lemur, probably the *Cheirogaleus milii*, which is still living in the Zoological Society's Gardens in Regent's Park. It was caught in 1877 in the north-east of the Betsileo. It is nocturnal in its habits, and its food consists of fruit, and possibly honey, of which there is abundance in the part of the forest from which it was brought. The specimen is full-grown, about seven or eight inches in length, and has a pointed snout, very prominent eyes, large ears, and round rat-like tail, which is not prehensile. It is of a brownish-grey colour, approaching to white on the under parts. Its four legs are almost equal in length, thus rendering it difficult for this lemur to leap any considerable distance, as the majority of species can. It runs on all-fours, but sits up to eat, holding its food in the fore-hands. I fancy that in the winter months in its natural state it hibernates, because, in the beginning of the winter, after several nights' good exercise, during which time it had the opportunity of eating as much banana as it chose to take, I was astonished one evening, on opening the box, to find it still asleep and quite cold to the touch. At first I thought it was dead; but by holding it near the fire and rubbing it, it gradually awoke, and when thoroughly warmed appeared none the worse in health. This happened two or three times, and without any apparent cause, as there was no ill-health, nor was the weather particularly cold. From this fact, and from the unnatural development of fat every year, even in captivity, I presume, had it been in its native forest,

it would, under the circumstances, have slept through the winter. It makes a nest of leaves or dry grass by carefully scooping a hollow large enough to contain itself, and then, after getting in, covering itself with the loose leaves or grass. The natives say that it buries itself in hollow trees during the winter.

It appears to be a very uncommon animal even in Madagascar, as this is the only specimen I have been able to obtain, although I kept a man in the forest for two months seeking for one after I had obtained the one I have described. Of course the fact of their sleeping all day and only feeding at night adds to the difficulty of catching them.

Another species of nocturnal lemur, interesting from its diminutive size, is the *Microcebus Smithii*, already referred to. These live in the tops of the highest trees, invariably choosing the smallest branches, where they collect a quantity of dried leaves, and make what from below looks like a bird's nest. Their food consists of fruit, insects, and honey. Moths and butterflies they devour with great avidity.

They are extremely shy and wild. Although I have had between thirty and forty caged at different times, I have never succeeded in taming one. They are also very quarrelsome, and fight fiercely, uttering a most piercing penetrating sound, somewhat resembling a very shrill whistle.

The teeth are very minute, but exceedingly sharp, and when they bite they hold so tenaciously that it requires a good shake and knock to make them let go. They are very strong in their hind legs and hands. I have often seen them swing themselves down from their perch, holding by the hind hands, grasp their food

in the fore hands, and then gradually draw themselves back again. In this they are assisted by their tails, only as a balance, and not as an additional grasping member. Their eyes are large and brilliant, their ears large, and their hands beautifully perfect, with ordinary-sized nails on each finger, except the second of the hind hands, which is furnished with a long scratching claw. They bring forth two and sometimes three at a birth.

Some of the inhabitants in Madagascar eat the lemur's flesh; but, with the exception of one commonly known as the *babacota* (or *babacoot*), the meat is very coarse and strong.

Closely allied to the lemurs is another quadrumanous animal belonging to a family of which it is the only representative, and which is peculiar to Madagascar. This curious animal, the Aye-Aye (*Cheiromys Madagascariensis*), has evidently received its popular name from the exclamations of the people who first saw it. They would upon first sight of anything so peculiar naturally utter the usual Malagasy exclamation of surprise, "Hay! Hay!" And at the present time among the people it is called the Haihay.

The Rev. R. Baron, however, supposes the name to be onomatopœtic, "the creature's call being, Haihay! Haihay!" But though I have kept them many months in captivity, the only cry I have heard from them resembles the bark or snapping yelp of a dog. It is found in the forests west and north of Tamatave. Being a nocturnal animal, it is very difficult to get any reliable information concerning its habits in a wild state, and native reports are altogether contradictory with respect to these matters. Even with reference to its natural food, no satisfactory explanation can be obtained from

the people. Many assert positively that it lives on honey; but one I had in captivity for several months would not eat honey in any form, either strained or in the comb, or mixed with various things I thought it might have a fancy for. Others say it lives on fruits and leaves; others, that birds and eggs are its natural food. I fancy, from what I saw of one of my captives, that the latter conjectures are nearer the truth; for after a few days, during which it would eat nothing, and it was thought that the proper food had not been offered (but it was in reality pining or sulking), it took several fruits which I was able to procure for it. It liked bananas; but it made sorry efforts at eating them, its teeth being so placed that its mouth was frequently clogged with them. The small fruits of various native shrubs it also devoured, as also rice boiled in milk and sweetened with sugar; but meat, larvæ, moths, beetles, and eggs it would not touch. I noticed that when I came near its cage with a light, it almost invariably started, and went for a little distance in chase of the shadows cast by the pieces of banana attached to the wire-work in front of its cage; and I think that if I could have procured some small birds it would have, if not devoured them, at any rate killed them for their blood, as some lemurs are known to do.[1] It drank water occasionally, but in such a way as to make it

[1] In proof of this, I need only instance one fact seen by several persons. A vessel under Captain Larsen was sailing along the coast between Tamatave and Imahanoro, when, after a stormy morning, two land birds, which had apparently been driven from shore and were exhausted, settled in the afternoon on one of the yards. A tame lemur (*Lemur albifrons*) on board saw the birds alight, and crept up to them, seizing and killing them immediately, but, after sucking the blood, let them fall upon the deck.

highly probable that it does not drink from streams or pools in the ordinary way. It did not hold its food in its hands, as the lemurs which I have had in captivity have done, but merely used its hands to steady it on the bottom of the cage. But whenever it had eaten, although it did not always clean its hands, it invariably drew each of its long claws through its mouth, as though in its natural state these had taken a chief part in procuring the food.

In some accounts, given by different writers, the Aye-aye is said to be easily tamed, and to be inoffensive. For instance, Sonnerat, who kept two in captivity, described it as "timid, inoffensive, and slow in its movements, in these respects resembling the lories." In each of these qualities, except the "timidity," I have found, both from native accounts and from the specimens I have kept, that exactly the reverse is the case. As might be imagined in a nocturnal animal, its movements in the daytime are slow and uncertain; and it may be said to be "inoffensive" then.

When it bit at the wire-netting in the front of its cage, I noticed that each of the pair of incisors in either jaw could separate sufficiently to admit the thick wire even down to the gum, the tips of the teeth then standing a considerable distance apart; leading to the supposition that by some arrangement of the sockets of the teeth they could be moved so far without breaking off. This would facilitate the animal in tearing off the bark of trees, in search for the larvæ which some assert to be its chief food. The Aye-aye brings forth but one at a birth. It makes its nest in the hollows of trees, and sometimes in the upper branches among the

dense foliage. This consists of leaves, grass and twigs, and is about two feet in width.

It is no wonder that in connection with so curious an animal a number of superstitious beliefs should be current among the Betsimisaraka, in whose country the Aye-aye is principally found. In reference to its name, one account says that the first discoverers took it from one part of the island to another, the inhabitants of which had never seen it, and in their surprise they exclaimed, "Hay! Hay!" Another tale is that many years ago some Betsimisaraka had occasion to open an old tomb, in which had been buried one of their ancestors. No sooner was the tomb opened than this animal, into which the said ancestor had developed, sprang out, and hence the exclamation of surprise that has attached itself as a name to this creature. Many of the Betsimisaraka still believe that the Aye-aye is the embodiment of their forefathers, and hence will not touch it, much less do it an injury. It is said that when one is discovered dead in the forest, these people make a tomb for it, and bury it with all the formality of a funeral. They think that if they attempt to catch it they will surely die in consequence; and when I have said to them, "But there is So-and-so, who has brought several to Tamatave, and nothing has happened to him," the answer has been, "Yes, but he has its charm!" (that is, the charm which counteracts the evil consequences of the act). The superstition extends even to the nest which the animal makes for itself. If a man receives from another or picks up accidentally the portion on which the head of the Aye-aye has rested, it is sure to bring good fortune; while the receiving of that part on which its feet rested is followed by bad

luck or death. This has passed into a proverb among the Betsimisaraka.

The above are the only species of quadrumanous animals found in the island. The apes and monkeys so common in the neighbouring continent are altogether unrepresented, while the only approach to representatives of the above in Africa are the *galagos*, on the east and south centre, and the *potto* and *angwantibo*, found on the west coast.

There are but few carnivorous animals in Madagascar, and those of small size and very timid. The largest is the *pintsala*, said to have been much more common than at present. Now it is only found in the western forests, where it is occasionally trapped by the Sakalava and Western Ibara. The only one I have seen alive was about the size of a full-grown pointer, of a dun colour, low on the shoulders and high on the haunches. It has a long smooth tail, short snout, keen eyes and powerful legs. This specimen was kept in an iron cage, from which it once or twice managed to escape, when it exhibited its ferocity and strength on the unfortunate dog and pigs in the yard, some of which it speedily killed. The natives are terribly afraid of it, doubtless not only because it steals their fowls, goats, and sheep, but also from a superstitious dread of an animal with which a number of legends and fables are connected. It belongs to the genus *Cryptoprocta*, is a plantigrade animal, with five toes on each foot, and is furnished with retractile claws.

The *fosa*, an animal belonging to the family *Viverridæ*, is another well-known carnivorous animal. It is somewhat smaller than the above, has a bushy tail, and is sometimes called the Madagascar fox. It is of a

brownish-grey colour, spotted with tufts of darker-coloured hair. There are two species, and they are to be met with in widely separated districts, but always in forest country, where they feed upon poultry and wild fowl.

In the forests of the south-east I have frequently secured an animal belonging to the same family, which, although not a true civet, is closely allied. It is doubtless a *genett*, and approaches very near to *Genetta amer*. It inhabits the low lands, and feeds upon lizards, rats, mice, voatsiva, &c. It is prettily marked, is said to be untameable, and is very strong-smelling.

Another carnivorous animal caught in the same district is a species of *ichneumon*, of a brown colour, with very thick skin, long sharp claws, thick though not bushy tail, and having a long sharp snout. It is very quick in its movements, lives upon snakes, lizards, and birds. The Tanala people say that it is a great enemy to their poultry, and is often trapped near the hen-roosts. There is no doubt too that, as in other parts of the world, this animal feeds upon crocodiles' eggs, and is supplied with some of its food in Madagascar from this source. This is the same creature which in Egypt is mis-named Pharaoh's rat.

There is some difference of opinion among naturalists regarding the existence of the wild cat as an indigenous animal in Madagascar. Those that have come under my notice differ in the form of the tail from those we look upon as types of this genus. Most probably the animals spoken of by the natives as *Kary*, are either the descendants of the domestic cat run wild, or else belong to one or other of the varieties of genetts.

Belonging to the family *Talpidæ*, we have one genus

peculiar to Madagascar, the *Centetes*, of which there are nine species in the island. Some inhabit the prairies and forest borders on the upper table-land, others the bushy parts of the coast. The latter are much larger than the former, and are considered a very dainty dish when properly prepared, both by the natives and the French Creoles, who liken the flavour to that of a tender sucking-pig. Their food consists of beetles chiefly, but frogs also are devoured by them. Two or three species are wholly nocturnal. The larger varieties are a dun-brown colour, covered over the back with spines, but with soft hair and of a lighter colour on the under parts. When attacked, they partly roll themselves up hedgehog-fashion, but only one or two varieties succeed in rolling themselves into a complete ball. Round Tamatave they are very plentiful, and I have frequently found them in the house. They are occasionally kept and fattened by the natives for sale in the market, and a good-sized Trandraka, measuring ten or twelve inches in length, will fetch a good price.

Several species of *Cheiroptera* are found, ranging from the small mouse-like creature which so frequently flies in at the open window after sundown, to the large vampire or flying fox, inhabiting some of the islands on the east coast, and one or two wooded districts in the interior. But none are said to be peculiar to Madagascar, all conforming to the characteristics of the genera found in many other parts of the world.

Of the domestic animals, it is now generally admitted that none are indigenous to Madagascar. Horses are plentiful in the interior, where they are used by the chief military and civil officers for riding, but they are

descendants of those brought from the Cape and Arabia. The bullock, resembling *Bos indicus*, although met with in large herds in the north-west forests, has doubtless been introduced. The same may be said of the fat-tailed hairy sheep, which is never found wild, the goat, pig, and dog. There is a wild boar inhabiting the eastern forest, the *Potamochœrus*, which bears a striking resemblance to the river-hog of Southern Africa. It is stated that the Portuguese in one of their early voyages let loose a large herd of swine on the island; but this will not account for the existence here of the only *ungulata* which appears indigenous to Madagascar. Mr. Wallace accounts for it by assuming that the known extraordinary powers of swimming possessed by this river-hog has enabled it to immigrate "at a later period than in the case of the other mammalia." The specimens I have seen have all been high on the shoulders, with plenty of reddish-brown hair and bristles, a very long snout, having a peculiar protuberance about halfway between the eyes and the nostrils. The flesh is hard, but not very rank in flavour. The natives catch them in pits, carefully concealed by rushes, on which is lightly sprinkled earth and a little rice as bait. The bottom of the pit is provided with hard spiked sticks, on which the animal falls, and is killed or disabled.

Madagascar may be said to be the home of some species of reptiles. There are at present between fifty and sixty species of chameleons known to science, out of which number between twenty and thirty are peculiar to Madagascar. These are of every variety of colour, and many of most peculiar shape. Some have excrescences under the lower jaw; others triangular prominences over the eyes. Some have the muzzle elongated

like a horn; others have this divided into two such horns. Some have a kind of flexible proboscis; others have the head flattened and extended on each side. Some have a rugged and high dorsal crest; others have but a low crest, ceasing altogether about halfway between the head and tail. Some are very large, sixteen or seventeen inches long; while others measure only five inches when full grown.

Except the chameleon, all the *Lacertidæ* are small, but many of them most brilliantly coloured and beautifully marked. All are perfectly harmless, and the grecko is most useful. It inhabits the houses, and is the destroyer of the centipedes, spiders, and moths. It can run along the ceilings and over the window-panes with the greatest ease, seldom losing its footing or falling. It is provided with little sucker-like expansions on each toe, from beneath which it has the power of pressing out the air, and thus enabling it to walk back downwards without danger.

There is a great variety of snakes in the island, of every colour and size, from the small whip-snakes to the large pythons, measuring nine or ten feet in length, and as thick round as a man's leg. Many kill their prey by entangling it in their folds and squeezing it to death, but some seize their prey with their teeth and so kill it. None, I believe, are fatally venomous, and none that I have seen and examined have any long fangs, hollow, and provided with a poison pouch below them, as with the Australian and African snakes. Nevertheless there are some which, according to native accounts, inflict painful wounds with their teeth. The bite of one found on the east coast, and called by the people *mantagory*, causes great pain

and swelling: but, although greatly feared by the natives, there is no tradition of any one having been killed by a snake.

Living in the crevices of rocks in the interior is one species of *Orphidæ*, called by the natives the *dona*, beautifully marked with an irregular yellow stripe on each side of the body, dark bluish-black on the back, and a light grey on the under parts. It is about five feet long when full grown. It feeds upon frogs and lizards, and is said by the people to occasionally attack and devour fowls and ducks.

This snake is looked upon by the heathen of the Betsileo with great superstitious reverence, as the impersonation of their dead ancestors, whose souls upon the death of the body have passed into these creatures. When one is discovered by the people, the chiefs of the various tribes around assemble near it, and proceed to ascertain whose ancestor is here embodied. This is done by a series of questions that can be answered by *yes!* or *no!* The animal is attentively watched meanwhile, and when the motion of its head is supposed to indicate the affirmative to the question, "Are you the ancestor of such-and-such a chief?" it then becomes the duty of that chief to conduct the proper ceremonies. A bullock is killed, and some of the blood is given to the creature as a kind of offering, to propitiate it and secure its good offices for the future; and it is then enticed or gently induced to wriggle itself into the centre of a clean white *lamba* that is brought and spread before it. When it is in the *lamba*, four men take the corners and carry it, amid cries from the people of the chief's village and the incantations of the priests, towards the river or stream at the foot of

the village. After various forms prescribed by the diviners, the animal is placed in the water, and the people return home to finish the day in riotous feasting.

It is no uncommon thing, in the south-central part of the island, to find in the lowest chamber of the ant-hills one of the light-coloured snakes that abound on the prairie land. Whether the creature creeps in at the entrance, and makes its way into the warm and dry spot to sleep off the effects of its last meal, or whether it is a nursling of the ants, has at present not been satisfactorily proved. I can only witness to having discovered them in such a place; but it would be difficult without keeping constant watch to ascertain whether the snake has free ingress and egress, from what the natives say is its prison. The tradition of the people is that the ants keep the snake as a captive, providing it with plenty of food, until it is fat and in good condition, when they kill and eat him. There is, however, a great difference of opinion as to how the snake first gets there. Some think that it is carried there when quite small; others that these sagacious ants make regular snake-traps in the lower part of their nests, which are two or three feet high, from which, though easy to enter, it is impossible for the snakes to escape. When it is remembered that the ants take care of and feed the aphides for the sake of the sweet honey-like exudation from their bodies, one is led to give some credence to a statement so universally accepted by the natives.

Frogs of many species are found in the different parts of the island, varying in size from the great bull-frog, which by its horrible croak makes night hideous in the swampy lowlands, to the beautifully coloured

and elegantly shaped tree-frogs, found in all the forest lands, supplying abundance of food for the snakes and birds, who greatly depend on them for their subsistence. The latter are of every variety of colour, and appear to mimic the prevailing colour and shade of green of the tree or leaves upon which it lives. In this way it is to a certain extent protected from the observation of its enemies, at the same time that it is enabled to approach the insects upon which it lives with comparative ease.

M. Grandidier discovered the half-fossilised remains of two species of tortoises of gigantic size, identical with those found in the desolate Aldabra group of islands in latitude 8° south; and although usually accepted as an extinct animal in Madagascar, it is reported by the natives to still live in the forest land on the west. One was kept in a garden in Tamatave two years ago, which was said to have been brought from the west coast, measuring over four feet in length, without the head and neck, and somewhat broader. This was smaller than those from the Aldabra, in the Zoological Gardens, one of which was nearly six feet broad, weighed over eight hundred pounds, and was able, it is said, to carry a couple of tons on its back.

Numberless small tortoises are found in all parts of the island, among them the *Pyxis*, or geometric tortoise, which is frequently kept by the natives as a kind of domestic pet. It is very beautifully and regularly marked.

A curious feature of the avi-fauna of Madagascar is its peculiarly distinctive character, for, notwithstanding the apparent evidence of a connection at a very remote period, of the island with Africa geographically, yet Mr. Wallace has identified but twelve species repre-

sented in the adjacent continents, and those "belong to the powerful-winged or wide-ranging forms." Mr. Baker, in his paper read before the British Association in York, 1881, goes further, and says, that "upwards of one hundred species of land birds have been determined scientifically, and of these not more than half-a-dozen are known elsewhere." There are at present 112 species and 219 varieties, belonging to 88 genera, of which 33 are peculiar to Madagascar, while over 50 species are endemic, but belonging to African and Asiatic genera.

The bones of an enormous bird, supposed to have lived in the island less than 200 years ago, were found by M. Grandidier in the southern part of the island. He formed a skeleton from the materials to hand, and by deductions therefrom, we get the representation of a bird considerably larger, but of the height of an ostrich. This is doubtless the *rukh*, referred to by Marco Polo in the account of his voyages. Grave doubts have long been cast upon that traveller's veracity regarding this matter; and his gigantic bird had been classed with the Arabian *roc*, as equally of imaginative origin. Other remains have since been found, and Professor Owen supposes the *Æpyornis* to have been a struthious or terrestrial bird of the same genera as the *Dinornis* of New Zealand. Many travellers have worked hard to discover a complete skeleton, but hitherto nothing has been found but a few bones, and the eggs. Many of the latter are more or less broken, some when discovered were being used as water-pitchers by the natives; but some have been found entire. One I saw in the possession of a merchant in Bourbon was without the least flaw, and sixteen inches in length. Whatever may have been the actual size

and appearance of the *Æpyornis*, its eggs are most gigantic.

It is no wonder, with such facts to help them, old and superstitious voyagers should be willing to credit tales like that of Marco Polo's *rukh*. "It is said that in those other islands to the south, which the ships are unable to visit because the strong current prevents their return, is found the bird *gryphon*, which appears there at certain seasons. The description given of it is, however, entirely different from what our stories and pictures make it. For persons who had been there and seen it told Messer Marco Polo that it was for all the world like an eagle, but one indeed of enormous size, so big, in fact, that its wings covered an extent of thirty paces, and its quills were twelve paces long, and thick in proportion. And it is so strong that it will seize an elephant in its talons, and carry him high into the air, and drop him, so that he is smashed to pieces. Having so killed him, the bird gryphon swoops down upon him, and eats him at leisure. The people of those isles call the bird *ruc*, and it has no other name. So I wot not if this be the real gryphon, or if there be another manner of bird as great. But this I can tell you for certain, that they are not half lion and half bird, as our stories do relate; but enormous though they be, they are fashioned just like an eagle."[1]

Tales very similar to the above are told by the Hindoos, Persians, and Arabs, and are evidently all manufactured from the same source. Fra Mauro also gives the account of an Indian junk being drifted in 1420, to a coast on which was found "the egg of a

[1] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian.* London, 1871. Edited and annotated by Colonel H. Yule, C.B.

certain bird called *Chrocho*, which egg was as big as a butt. And the bigness of the bird is such that between the extremities of the wings it is said to be sixty paces. They say, too, that it carries away an elephant or other great animal with the greatest ease, and does great injury to the inhabitants of the country, and is most rapid in its flight."

It must not be supposed from the above that, although the stories are inadmissible because of their extravagance, they still furnish an indirect evidence of the existence of elephants in Madagascar. No proof to support such a supposition has yet been found.

Of the birds now found in the island, it must suffice to mention but a few of the most strikingly peculiar. The *Raptores*, although numerous, are not composed of many species. An eagle (*Haliætes vociferoides*) is called by the Sakalava the *Hanka*, and is found only in the northern portion of the island, while numerous species of hawks are found in widely different districts. One of these, the *Falco minor*, called by the Hovas the *voromahery*, or the strong bird, has been adopted as the crest of the Hova Government. An enormous effigy of the *voromahery* is placed in the centre of the roof of the principal palace, and over the gateway to the royal precincts in Antananarivo. The commonest carnivorous bird in the interior of the country is the *papango* (*Milvus Ægyptius*, Gm.), a kite much hated by the people because of its depredations upon the poultry yard. It frequently carries off chickens, fowls, ducks, and when very hungry does not hesitate to attack, and attempt to carry off, small dogs. They are very tenacious of life, and have been known to fly considerable distances after being mortally wounded. They occupy the same

roosting-place night after night on the highest branches of the trees. There are two varieties.

A small and very active sparrow-hawk, the *Tinnunculus Newtonii* (Gurn), is also very numerous in the centre and east of the island, and its peculiar hovering motion, while apparently suspended in mid-air seeking its prey, has given the name to one of the figures in the native dance, when the hands are employed to represent the quick nervous motion of the bird's wings. It builds its nest in the roofs of houses, and it is frequently seen perched on the highest points of the spires of the churches and other elevated spots, from which it makes a swoop upon any luckless lizard or snake that may unsuspiciously expose itself.

Unlike the English crow, the Malagasy representative of the species is not so perfectly black as to give point to a proverb. The *Corvus scapulatus* has a band of white round its neck, and a bib on its breast, in this resembling the "chaplain crow." It is found in all parts of the island, making its nest in the high trees or in crevices of rocks on the mountain sides. Mr. Baron says that it is "sometimes kept by the people as a pet bird. Occasionally it is taught to keep fowls away from the rice which is put out on mats to dry in the sun."

Among the *Passeres* are none very remarkable for musical capabilities, although one or two exhibit a certain amount of variety in their note. The *railovy* of the Hovas, the *Dicrurus forficatus* of naturalists, a blue blackbird of the size of the English blackbird, but having a tuft of feathers standing erect from the junction of the upper mandible with the skin, is a very fair singer. It is called in some parts of the country the "prince of birds," because it is said to imitate or

possess the notes of all the other birds put together. It inhabits the forest, but is not unfrequently found in rarely visited spots on the table-land far from the forest district.

The *fody* of the Hovas is a very conspicuous object, in the pairing and breeding season, near all the inhabited regions. It has given its name to distinct genera (*Foudia Madagascariensis*), and is the typical bird of the genus. In the breeding season the male is of a brilliant scarlet, except the wings and tail, which retain the sober dun colour. The female, doubtless in order that she may remain less conspicuous to her enemies, continues her sombre dress throughout the year. The male also gradually loses all his gaudiness as the cooler weather comes on, and until the breeding season returns there is very little to distinguish him from his mate. The male has a song nearly as musical as our robin. The *fody* is a terrible pest to the natives in harvest time, and boys with slings and rattles have to be employed to prevent the rice being devoured by the flocks of these birds, which congregate near the ripening grain and devour considerable quantities, unless prevented by the people. It is one of the birds kept in captivity by the natives, who make cages for them from thin strips of bamboo. But they neither breed nor live long in confinement, and the practice is generally discountenanced by the more humane.

Another of the weaver finches, resembling the above in shape though not in colour, is, as its name proves, recognised by the people as belonging to the same species. They call it *Fody saina*, doubtless because of the clever way it builds its nest, hanging it from the

end of a small supple branch, weaving grass and fibres into a compact, hollow, retort-shaped dwelling. These are conspicuous objects in the south-eastern forests, because they are usually so placed that they are below the mass of the foliage. Hung by a strong fibre attached to the crown (comparing it to a retort), the bird enters by the lower end, climbing up inside. The eggs are laid and the young hatched in the globe of the retort, and are thus rendered inaccessible to the depredations of other birds or of lizards, snakes, lemurs, &c. The male is yellow with a jet-black beak. It is the *Hyphantornis pensilis* of the naturalists, and sometimes called the weaver-bird, as its nest displays so much more skill in its construction than any of the other weaver-finches, beside presenting a very much larger woven surface.

The commonest parrot in the island is a black one (*Coracopsis nigra*, L.). It is found in great numbers in all the forests, especially in those on the west of the table-land. The people tame it, and, after slitting its tongue, teach it to say a few words; but it is not an adept scholar, and I have never heard one which could do more than pronounce very indifferently isolated words. Very different in size as also in plumage is the little green and dove-coloured parroquet, which frequents in large flocks the rice-fields near the coast, and sometimes appears on the upland plains. It is a species of the love bird (*Psittacula canna*, Gm.), and is caught and kept by the natives in cages. They live chiefly on rice, and are great enemies to the growers, for they do not appear singly, as is the case with the *fody*, but in large flocks several hundreds strong.

The aquatic birds are very numerous in Madagascar

and several different genera are represented. These we can but touch upon, mentioning only a few. In travelling in the Betsileo and along the east coast, I have often been struck with the variety of bird life near the lakes and rivers. Some on the water, others hovering over it waiting for their prey, some wading in the shallows, or stalking along from one lily leaf to another, assisted by their large and wide-spreading feet. There are the large moskovy ducks (*Sarcidiornis Africana*), frequenting the inland marshes of the central and south central provinces, with the duck (*Anas Melleri*) and little grebe (*Podiceps minor*) on almost every rushy stream, furnishing abundant sport for the sportsman and good food for his bearers. The wild ducks are not in the least fishy in flavour, but rich and gamey, proving quite an addition to the not remarkably varied character of the dishes procurable in the island. There is also a beautiful water-hen, with black plumage, but scarlet head, which enjoys the home of the above, although not their distinction at the table of the foreigner. It is called the *otrika*[1] by the people. There are three or four kinds of ibis found in the island, the crested variety being peculiar to the country. It is found in the north-east, and is there fairly abundant. It is scarlet on the body, with long legs, yellow beak and claws. The so-called sacred ibis of Egypt is found in large flocks. A white egret is a very common gregarious bird, living near the rice-fields, about which it walks in search of food, or it follows closely after the herds of cattle, which attract the insects that to a great extent constitute its food. This is the *Ardea bubulcus*, and is frequently accompanied by the *Platalea*

[1] *Canirallus griseifrons* (Gray).

tenuirostris, which in the distance very much resembles it in plumage and shape of body; and it is not until a nearer view can be obtained or the beak is turned towards the observer that the spoon-shaped bill is seen which so clearly distinguishes it from its companions. The *takatra* (*Scopus umbretta*) is another bird very widely diffused throughout the highlands, but rarely, if ever, seen near the coast. It is a brown-crested stork, around which, doubtless from its homely appearance, its strange cry, and ragged, untidy nest, have collected many superstitions. "One says that those who destroy its nest become lepers. Another says that if the bird takes the hair of any person from whose head it has just been cut, and uses it as material in making its nest, such person becomes at once bald. It used also to be regarded as an evil omen for this bird to cross a person's path, and if it crossed the path before the idols, these were obliged to return to their houses." [1] The nest is a very inaccessible one, built for the most part on an overhanging rock or in the fork of a large tree, with the entrance hole in the side, most difficult of approach.

Guinea-fowl, snipe, teal, and quails are abundant in some districts at a distance from human habitation, and resemble in a great measure their namesakes in England.

The avi-fauna of Madagascar is remarkable as showing so little affinity to that of the peculiar type met with in tropical Africa. As Mr. Wallace points out, the glossy starlings, the plantain-eaters, oxpeckers, barbets, honey-guides, hornbills, and bustards, are entirely wanting in Madagascar, while many of the species found are peculiar to the island.

[1] Rev. R. Baron in *Antananarivo Annual*, No. 5, p. 55.

The insect life of the island is prolific, specialised, and often very beautiful. Among the *Lepidoptera* are some magnificent specimens of gorgeous colouring and variety of form. The most remarkable is one that has frequently been described, the *Urania riphæus;* that is found principally in the upper part of the eastern forest belt; its dazzling mixture of blue, green, gold and red, renders it a conspicuous object as it flies lazily across one's path. Very many of the butterflies are more remarkable for their peculiar shape than for their beauty of colouring, imitating the dead leaves to such a nicety as to deceive the casual observer. They close their wings against each other, and one fancies he can see the midrib and veining of a dried leaf standing up from the dead branch, in colour dark brown slightly mottled with black, while the upper side of the wing presents a bright and gaudy colouring. In the interior the butterfly called by the natives the lime-tree butterfly, a large yellow and black variety, is a very common object, as it flutters about through the lime and lemon trees seeking suitable spots to deposit its eggs. In some places in the forest the small streams seem to be literally alive with butterfly and moth life. There are also several very large nocturnal moths, one found on the east coast is six or seven inches across the spread of the wings, of a light pinkish drab colour, with little square transparent spots on each wing. One found on the west coast measures 8½ inches from shoulder to point of tail, and 8 inches across the upper wings. "But its most extraordinary characteristic is the formation of the long delicate tail-like appendages to the hind wings, which have extremely narrow shafts and are enlarged at the ends;

their points have two spiral twists or folds, graceful in appearance. There are four distinct eye-like spots near the centre of each wing, which are of light buff tinged with lemon-yellow. The buff-coloured body is 2¼ inches long. It is proposed to be called *Tropæa Madagascariensis*." [1]

Among the spiders are some very curious specimens of insect life. The largest, the *Hala-be* of the people, and *Epura Madagascariensis* of the naturalists, is one of the largest known. It is black, with four or five yellow bands on its back, and in size more resembles a young crab than the usual inhabitant of an ærial nest acting as guard-house to a web, the main fibres of which are as strong as pack-thread. The natives, in their superstitious dread of anything so ugly and large, have endowed it with powers which it is doubtful if it possesses. They assert that it is poisonous, and that those bitten by it are immediately seized with an intense nervous excitement that often ends in death. This, however, must be accepted with caution, notwithstanding that M. Leguèvel, in his *Voyage à Madagascar*, speaks of a young slave who accompanied him being bitten by one of these spiders, and undergoing a nervous torture ending in death the next day. It is not unlikely that the slave was suffering from the fever of the country, and, even if he were bitten, it was the former that caused his death, and not the venom from the insect. He says that the slave was seized by a nervous trembling, which so increased upon him as to require two men to hold him and place him in the bath which the native doctor prescribed; that his tongue was dry, and his eyes inflamed, and it was with difficulty that he

[1] *Proceedings of Zoological Society*, 1873, p. 336.

could be induced to swallow a few mouthfuls of the infusion of an aromatic plant. After his bath he was placed on a mat; but the skin remained dry and hot, notwithstanding the temperature of the bath. Faintness gave place to syncope, the extremities became cold, and a convulsive twitching showed that the end was approaching. The next day he died. All familiar with the symptoms of the fever, as it attacks some individuals, will recognise here the usual course of that disease when in its malignant form. There is, however, a small black spider with red underparts, called the *Hala-mena-vody* by the Malagasy, or *Latrodicus menavodi* by Vinson, which certainly has the power of inflicting a very painful wound, and although not fatal, its bite produces serious effects upon the system. There are a large variety of trap-door spiders in all parts of the country, and several hunting-spiders, which have wonderfully mimicked the prevailing colour of the rocks upon which they live. These depend for their food upon their own agility, and are provided with strong supple legs, to enable them to run with great rapidity and spring considerable distances while in pursuit of their prey. But another genus makes a most ingenious trap for ants and woodlice, by throwing up the loose sand in which it lives so as to form a cup-like hollow. At the bottom of this it lies concealed, waiting for any luckless ant that may fall into the trap, from which it seldom escapes, because the sides of the hollow are composed of such loose sand that no foot-hold can be found, and the disturbance caused only helps to attract the enemy and confuse the victim. These cups are about three inches in diameter at the top, and 1½ inch deep, and are made by the insect working in a small circle just under the

surface, and throwing up the sand from the centre with a twitch of the tail, which is half the length of the body. So strong is it, that with very little difficulty it can throw out any substance twice or thrice its own weight to a distance ten or twelve times its own length. These nests are always made under cover where the sand is light and dry, and it is astonishing how quickly these insects will repair or re-make an injured or demolished trap. I have kept some in confinement, supplying them with food from time to time, and their diligence and perseverance might point as good a moral as those qualities in the ants which they prey upon. Another curious insect associated with sand life on the low-lying plains around the coast is a sandfly, about the size of a wasp, which alights on the dry sand, and almost before the spectator has had time to concentrate his vision upon the spot, it has burrowed for itself a hole deep enough to bury itself, by using its legs to scoop up the sand into a little ball against its body, and then carrying it out backwards and depositing it at a little distance from the hole. In a marvellously short time it has made a home for its eggs, and supplied a store of food for the larvæ when hatched.

Of building or architectural insects there are several species of bees, one of which is a source of wealth to the Tanala (the inhabitants of the forest), who make rough hives for their use, and then stupefy the bees and secure the honey and wax. The latter is an article of considerable importance in commerce, great quantities being exported from Tamatave. Wasps abound in all parts, and the mason fly, the pest of the houses on the coast disfigures every ceiling and corner with her unsightly though cleverly-made receptacle for her

progeny and their early food, in the shape of spiders, stupefied and enclosed in the earthen cells with the eggs. The ant-hills cover the plains, in some districts rising to the height of two, three, or even four feet, with only a few yards between them. A deserted ant-hill is often used by travellers for a stove, by cutting off the top, and scooping out the inside, thus making a kind of clay furnace. The ants' nests in the forest are conspicuous objects, being attached to the upper parts of the trunks of the trees, like great excrescences, and having a well-made water-tight tunnel connecting them with the ground. They are evidently constructed for security, as their whitish colour would render them particularly liable to the depredations of the birds which live upon such food. I have frequently broken in upon this tunnel, to find that it is in constant requisition by travellers up and down. A rupture of the construction is a first care of the busy inhabitants of the nest above, who immediately set about repairing any such defect, by carrying mud up the inside and cleverly filling in once more their covered way.

Among the *Coleoptera* are some very curious in their forms, and others "remarkable for their widespread affinities." The longicorns, stag-beetles, burying-beetles, rosechafers, locusts, &c., are all found in abundance, and in every part of the island. A beetle with a long proboscis, which it uses for boring into the bark of the trees, in search of the juice, is one of the curious forms of insect life in the eastern forests. Another, almost identical in appearance with a dried piece of twig, as it stands on a branch with its legs drawn up hiding its head between the foremost, is found on the upper plateau. The *Cicadæ*, varying in length from

half an inch to two inches, make the woods and forests on the east and south-east resound with their piercing, scraping sound. Some are gorgeous in bright and shining metallic-looking wings, while others so closely imitate the colour and veining of the leaves or bark upon which they feed, that it requires sharp eyes to detect them as they lie quiescent, while the enemy, in the form of a collector, passes. Others, again, protect themselves by a constant emission of an offensive odour, which they are able to intensify upon being touched or attacked. There is an immense variety of burying and scavenger beetles, and several that burrow underground. One of the latter, black, about one and a half inch long, and with a long horn (in the male) like that of the rhinoceros, is a great enemy to young cocoanut trees and other plants with a bulbous root.

Of the fish very little is yet known scientifically. There is the usual variety of fresh-water fish, most of which are edible, although some are not held in very great esteem. The goldfish is plentiful in the rice-fields in Imerina, but it is an introduction to the island. A few were taken by one of the French residents in the capital as a present to the Queen, who had them placed in the lake at the foot of the hill on which the city stands, and they were so prolific that soon the lake was well stocked. During the rainy season this lake often overflows into the rice-plains around. The fish have thus obtained access to the larger area, and have increased so rapidly that now the goldfish is the commonest and cheapest fish sold in the Antananarivo market. Its flesh, however, is by no means well-flavoured, and only the poorest of the people buy and eat them. Eels are caught in abundance, being of large size in many of the

rivers and lakes, and are highly esteemed by the people, who are willing to pay a higher price for these than for any other fish of equal weight. The *toho* and shrimps are caught by the women in most of the marshes, rice-fields, and small streams, by dredging with fine net-like baskets. They are dried in the sun, packed into mats, and sent to the various markets, where some of these dried "prey from the waters" always form one article of sale or barter. The *fony* is a fish much esteemed, the flesh of which is firm and sweet, and is usually eaten as a stew by the natives.

Two kinds of crayfish are caught in the rivers, one with thin round claws, the other with claws resembling a lobster, the former inhabiting rocky river-beds, and the latter muddy marsh-lands and the edges of larger rivers. Both are very good eating, and are relished by natives and Europeans. A fresh-water crab is also found in the small rapid streams passing through the marshes, but not in anything like the abundance of the crayfish. With the exception of the above, none of the fresh-water shell-fish are used as food.

In the lagoons and on the reefs of the east coast a large number of various fishes are found. The one most in demand is called the *zompona*, a fish resembling a salmon in shape and habits, but entirely different in colour and flavour. It spawns up the rivers, and is caught in the lagoons or river mouths on its way down to the sea. Many fine-flavoured fish are caught by lines or spears on or near the reefs at Tamatave and in the shallows along the north-east coast. The harbours often present a very lively appearance at night when the canoes go out, each provided with its torches and lanterns. The light attracts the fish, which are speared

as they play round the bow of the canoes with a kind of many-pronged dart, to the haft of which a cord is attached. Oysters, lobsters, crayfish, crabs, mussels and clams are found along the coast, and find a ready sale in the market at Tamatave. The octopus is also highly esteemed as an article of diet both by the Creoles and the natives, but is not held in much favour by the Europeans, who are generally too much disgusted with the appearance of the fish, as exhibited for sale with its long flabby arms and ugly head-body, to care to make any closer acquaintance with it.

The sharks, which abound on the east coast, and make such extensive depredations upon the cattle in course of shipment on board the vessels waiting to transport them to Mauritius and Bourbon, are occasionally captured by the people. Notwithstanding the terror in which they hold them, the young men occasionally go on a shark-hunting expedition. Having discovered one, they dive under it, and before it has the time to turn upon its back, use the long sharp knife they carry to such good purpose, that before it has realised its danger it is secured. It is affirmed among the Malagasy, that some of their people can go into the water, on discovering a shark, and with nothing in hand but a piece of stick about a foot in length, armed with an iron point at each end, can accomplish its destruction. Watching till one of the monsters, with its two or three rows of teeth, is just about to attack him with its wide-extended jaws, the native with his iron-pointed stick seizes his opportunity, and with a coolness they certainly do not exhibit on shore, inserts his hand and arm into the mouth of the creature, and transfixes its jaws by implanting the

stick cross-wise in its mouth. The more the shark tries by snapping to disengage the weapon, the more deeply it enters, and in savage and painful fury it seeks the bottom. But while plunging in maddened terror and pain, it fails to obtain relief, and is at last completely exhausted. In a day or two its body is washed ashore, and the inhabitants secure and divide its carcase for food. I have never seen this feat performed, and am a little doubtful of its reality, but I give it as given to me. Whenever a shark or porpoise is secured, its flesh is cut into joints and sold in the market, as any other commodity; and the people seem eager to obtain a portion of the unsavoury and highly scented flesh of the "*Tiger of the sea.*"

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FLORA OF MADAGASCAR.

The Flora—Much remains unarranged—Flowering plants—Affinity with flora of mountains in Central Africa—Man-eating tree—Traveller's tree—Rofia palm—Other palms—Cocoa-nut—Filaos—Mangroves—*Atafana*—Bamboos—Reeds and rushes—Creepers—Pandanus—*Sanga*—Orchids—Timber trees—Food-providing flora—Manioc—Arrowroot—Potatoes—Yams—Rice—Rice-cultivation, as an Article of Commerce—Coffee—Spices—Sugar-cane—Rum—Sugar-mills—Fruits—One or two curiosities of Plant-life.

THE flora of the island is scarcely less specialised and remarkable than the fauna. From the time that Mr. Ellis first called attention to the interesting subject of the botany of Madagascar down to the present day, the botanist and plant collector have found a paradise in the unexplored, fertile, and luxuriant forest land of the mountainous slopes of the central plateau. To the eye of the mere traveller or the searcher after beauty, this tract presents spots of unrivalled grandeur and loveliness. The artist is bewildered in his endeavour to decide upon the scenes most worthy of his attempt to represent on his canvas, and the photographer would require an unlimited supply of dry plates if he aimed at obtaining a negative of one half of the pretty nooks, grand cascades, and bold towering rocks and mountains. Here are magnificent giant trees of hard, dark-

coloured, durable building wood, that have stood the storms of ages, laced together with enormous far-spreading lians and creepers, forming a mass of wood and foliage through which the sunlight never passes. Below is a mass of brushwood and undergrowth completely barring the traveller unprovided with axe or knife, while under foot is a soft velvety grass richly bespangled with wild flowers of every colour and hue.

Very much remains to be discovered and arranged with reference to the flora of the island, but still, thanks to the indefatigable energy of such botanists as Hildebrandt and Crossley, the Rev. R. Baron and others, a great deal of recent information has been collected respecting the vegetable productions. The number of flowering plants of which we have definite information and descriptions now amounts to between 2,000 and 3,000, and every parcel coming from one of the hitherto unexplored districts contains a large number of new varieties or species. So that Mr. Baker, F.R.S., says: "He should not be at all surprised if the number of flowering plants inhabiting the island should ultimately be raised to 4,000 or 5,000."

Out of the fifty-five orders of *Thalamifloræ* there have been thirty-seven discovered in Madagascar, while fifty-three are found in tropical Africa. "One of the most striking and suggestive characters of the flora of the intertropical zone of the world, taken as a whole, is the large extent to which it is everywhere made up of species representing large genera which do not show any special preference for one of the great continents, or to the New World or the Old World, as compared with each other. The area embraced by the intertropical zone is about twenty millions of square miles, out

of fifty millions for the whole world; and there are many genera that contain 300, 400 or 500 species that are largely represented in America, Asia, and Africa."[1] Such, for instance, as the Cyperus, the Ferns, Ficus, Piper, Croton, Loranthus, Psychotria, and many others are widely distributed throughout the world, and are nearly all represented in Madagascar.

Among the flowering plants indigenous to Mauritius about 150 are found in Madagascar; but these are of so cosmopolitan a character that many are found not only in tropical Africa, but extend to tropical America. The greater number of these cosmopolitan plants are those bearing seeds very easily dispersed and carried long distances. They are, generally speaking, such as grow in waste ground, on the sea-shore, in swamps, and a few in the shadier retreats of the forests. But it has been noted by those who have made the subject a special study, that there is a far greater resemblance and a closer affinity between those species of the wide-spread flora represented in Madagascar and Africa, than between those in Madagascar and tropical or South-eastern Asia. There are certainly a few instances of species occurring in Madagascar which follow the Asiatic type, and which are not found in Africa, but these bear an infinitesimal proportion to the whole of the flora. Mr. Baker also finds that there is a very distinct affinity between the flora of the table-land of Madagascar and that of the mountain ranges in Central Africa and of Cape Colony. Hence it would appear that whereas, in the remote past, the general characters of the fauna and flora of Madagascar and Africa were

[1] J. G. Baker, F.R.S., in Paper read at the Meeting of the British Association at York, 1881.

identical or very similar, the ancient isolation of the island from the mainland has enabled it to retain many of its forms of animal life which have been pushed out of existence in Africa, on the principle of the survival of the fittest. The vegetable life has, as is natural to suppose, maintained many of its ancient characteristics in both localities. The law of natural selection, operating powerfully in the one case, is almost unknown in the other.

Many of the curiosities of vegetable life are found in the island, and the romance of the early travellers has added many extraordinary forms unknown, except in the imagination of the writers. Such is the *man-eating-tree*, which was said to be able to entangle in its fibrous, tendril-like leaves human beings, whom it crushed to death and devoured. No such plant exists, but it is doubtless the romancers' magnified description of the insectivorous plants, which are not uncommon.

Among the trees, that which is both peculiar to the island and a marked feature in the landscape, is the so-called traveller's tree, the *Ravenala Madagascariensis*. This, with its wide-spreading distichous leaves, towering above the surrounding vegetation, looks like an enormous fan, as the long flat leaves are swayed backwards and forwards by the wind. Its popular name has been given from the sentimental idea that, because from the midrib of each leaf can be obtained a certain quantity of clear, limpid fluid, it has been created to supply the weary traveller with the much-needed water to quench his thirst while passing from one spring to another across an arid waste. Unfortunately for the sentiment, the tree only grows in the vicinity of water, and the leaf is never punctured except from curiosity

or wantonness, and certainly neither because the traveller can find no other water, nor can be so capricious as to prefer the disagreeable vegetable-flavoured liquid stored in the reservoir of the traveller's tree leaf. If the uses of the tree are to be taken as a foundation for its name, this might more appropriately be termed the household tree, for in the forest region and on the lower plains ,where it flourishes, its leaves supply the people with thatch and walls, even occasionally, for their houses, with dishes for their rice and sweet potatoes, while by carefully folding smaller portions, a spoon to convey the rice and gravy to the mouth is readily constructed. Its woody trunk is utilised for posts and even for flooring.

Another conspicuous tree in the forest valleys and on the coast plain is the rofia palm, from which the natives obtain the rafters of their houses, and poles for carrying by simply stripping the midrib of the leaves and drying them in the sun. But the most valuable part of this tree is the fibre, which is obtained by stripping the bark from the incipient and still folded leaf. This is strong and durable, capable of great subdivision and of taking dyes. It is accordingly made into cloth by the people both for home consumption, in the form of lambas striped with various colours and fringed at the ends, and for export, in the shape of the strong coarse *rabannas* used so extensively in Mauritius and Bourbon for packing sugar and coffee. A great quantity of the fibre is packed under hydraulic pressure into bales at Tamatave, and sent in the raw state to Europe, to be used for horticultural purposes and for manufacture into rope. There seems to be little doubt that a valuable paper might be made from it if reduced

to pulp; but until the means of communication in the interior of the island are greatly improved, and greater facilities introduced for transporting the fibre to the port, the price will exclude it from this use to any large extent. It is called in England ruffia grass, doubtless from its resemblance to the blades of grass torn from the stalk. It is the *Sagus ruffia* of the botanist.

Other palms, equally graceful, though not so numerous, are scattered throughout the forest, presenting a pleasing contrast to the heavy branches and dark-green leaves of the large timber trees. Such are the sago-palm, the fan-palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*). Several palms whose names I do not know I have frequently met with on the forest tracts both on the east and south; one a kind of cane or bamboo-like palm is very plentiful in the higher parts of the eastern forest, the stem not being so large as many of the bamboos. The *anivona*, which Mr. Sibree considers a species of *areca*, is also common on the east of the table-land.

The cocoanut-palm, which fills such an important place in the economy of the Polynesians, does not flourish in Madagascar. There are no plantations of it, and, as far as my experience goes, it is not found in any spot which has not been the known habitation, at some period or another, of a foreigner. It is true that the native name, *voanhio* or *voanio*, is identical in sound with the name given to the tree by the Samoans, and possibly by other islanders of the Pacific; and this would tend to show that the palm is indigenous, yet still the fact of its comparative scarcity points to an introduction not particularly valued by the people of the country, who have not cared to plant it for them-

selves, but have left this for the few foreigners who have settled in different spots on the coast.

Besides the cocoanut-palm, two or three other conspicuous trees find a home only near the shore. There is the beautifully graceful fir-like filao (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) lining the beach in some places, and with its dark-green wire-like leaves presenting a pleasing contrast to the large fleshy-leaved plants so common in the tropical regions on the coast. Its wood is valuable for house building, being tough and durable, and not subject to attacks of the white ants.

The *voavotaka*, generally believed to be a species of *strychnos*, and called *Strychnos spinosa*, is another plant very common along the eastern sea-board. It never attains any great size, but has more the appearance of a large irregularly grown shrub than a tree. The fruit is peculiar, globular in form, about the size of a large orange, with a smooth, hard shell, an eighth of an inch in thickness. When cracked and opened, it is found to contain a whitey-brown pulp, filled with hard brown seeds the size of a haricot bean. This pulp is edible, of an acrid but not unpleasant taste. It produces violent headache if too freely indulged in. Mr. Baron asserts [1] that this is not the true *Nux vomica*, nor even a true *strychnos* (according to Bentham and Hooker's definition of the genus), but a *brehmia*, of which there is but one species. It is, however, nearly related to the *Nux vomica*. It is found in tropical Africa, Natal, and Seychelles as well as in Madagascar.

Along the coast between Foule Point and the head of the Antongil Bay are several mangrove swamps Close by the sea, their roots interlaced in the most

[1] *Antananarivo Annual*, No. VI., p. 121.

tortuous fashion, rendering locomotion difficult, these trees flourish amid the most loathsome-smelling mud it has been my misfortune to travel through, while from above they send down suckers with root mouths at the ends to form other roots and trunks upon reaching the mud below.

The *Atáfana*, a tree bearing a species of edible almond, also abounds on the coast and is a conspicuous object, owing to its peculiar growth. The trunk grows quite perpendicularly, and sends out its branches at regular intervals. These spread out to a considerable distance (thirty or forty feet) horizontally, and with their large leaves afford an agreeable shade from the intensely bright and hot sun.

Perhaps the most graceful plant in the eastern forest is the bamboo, with its long, pale-green feathery tops festooning the valleys with its trembling clusters of grass-like leaves, overtopping the bushes and contrasting vividly but agreeably with the darker foliage around; and as it is one of the most beautiful of plants, with its long, slender, smooth stems, so it is one of the most useful. It is applied to all kinds of purposes by the people. They make their tobacco boxes of the smaller stems, polished and sometimes engraved. Of the larger stems, poles for carrying burdens on the shoulders are constructed, while others are used for fetching water from the wells and for storing it in the house. Bottles for holding salt, honey, rice, &c., are made by simply cutting a length from above a joint, and allowing the joint to form the bottom of the bottle. A smaller kind, about the thickness of the thumb, but with very long joints, is used for the manufacture of the two kinds of native flutes and a kind of harp

described on p. 40, is made from the larger varieties. In many parts of the country bamboo is split and hammered flat, and plaited like rude basket work to form the walls of houses—the large sheets of plaited bamboo being kept in their places by solid pieces of the same plant, to which they are tied. The floors of the forest houses are made by tying a great number of bamboos to the joists, and in some districts of the island rafts for crossing the rivers are made by lashing a great number of the largest bamboos together.

In many parts, both in the forest and on the upper plateau, are large tracts covered with a hard tall reed, through which it is difficult in the extreme to pass, both because of the luxuriance in which it grows, and also because the short pointed leaves are hard and sharp as needles, punishing the half-naked bearers at every step they take. This *bararata* (*Phragmites communis*, Trin.) serves, on the table-land, many of the purposes of the bamboo in the lower plains. It forms the sides of many of the houses in localities in which the *zozoro* (*Cyperus æqualis*, Vahl.), the three-cornered rush, does not grow; and also the laths attached to the rafters of the houses, to which the thatch, either grass, straw, or the *herana* (*Cyperus latifolius*, Thouars), is tied. The two rushes mentioned above grow very plentifully by the river sides and in the marshy ground of the upper table-land. The preparing them for the market employs a large number of people in the country districts around the capital. The former is dried and cut into equal lengths, after which they are joined side by side, by being pressed upon three long pointed strips of bamboo, which hold the rushes

together, and permit of their being used as doors, sides of houses, &c. The latter is simply made into handfuls and tied with rofia or the bark of a forest tree (an *Astrapeia*) to the *bararata*.

As already mentioned, one of the marked features of the Malagasy forest scenery is the number and variety of the lianas and creepers stretching from tree to tree, hanging in long loops and festoons. The most valuable of these is the *Vahea Madagascariensis*, called by the natives *fingotra*, from which a part of the india-rubber is obtained. Unfortunately, the usual way of obtaining the juice is by the total destruction of the plant. Formerly it was severed near the root, and the juice which descended from the upper part was collected. But this involved considerable loss, as the highest parts, often hanging in long loops on the summits of the trees, retained the sap, which was dessicated in course of time, and was of no use. Now, however, scarcity of the liana has taught prudence, and the plant is drawn down from the trees, cut into convenient lengths, and each piece suspended over a wooden vessel till the juice has drained out, when it is congealed by the addition of the juice of lemons or of a little sulphuric acid. In this state it is sent to Tamatave and other parts, where it has lately realised from forty to sixty dollars the hundredweight.

The pandanus, of which there are several varieties, is a distinct feature in the landscape of the eastern plain. With its large fleshy leaves, armed in most cases with sharp prickly edges, rising in screw-like fashion from the edges of the rivers and lagoons, into which it throws its roots from a considerable height up the trunk, it is not only a conspicuous object, but of

immense use to the people. Its leaves make very good waterproof coverings for parcels of perishable articles, such as sugar, flour, calico, books, &c., while being carried on the bearers' shoulders to the capital. Shelters for the benighted traveller are often and very speedily made by placing a number of these leaves lengthwise upon a few sticks placed in the shape of a roof. The leaves of one kind, very common south of Tamatave, are divided into strips of convenient width and plaited into the coarse mats and bags exported to Mauritius and Bourbon for packing sugar.

To the north of Tamatave is a very curious tree growing near the sea by the river-sides, called *Sanga* by the natives, from the fact that, although very tall, it has no foliage except at the summit, resembling a top-knot—the meaning of the native name. Mr. Baron, who saw them in 1882, speaks of them as a species of *Weinmannia*.

The home of these curious trees is also the home of one of the most beautiful orchids found in the country, the *Angræcum sesquipedale*, which I have seen growing in the greatest profusion on the dead tree-trunks, and even on the rocks so near the sea that at times they must have been washed by the sea spray. It has frequently been stated that the long spur (from a foot to eighteen inches in length, "points to the existence of an insect with an extraordinary long trunk or sucking tube for the fertilisation of the flower."[1] I have had very many of these orchids in my garden at Tamatave, and they have frequently become fertilised and the seeds come to perfection, but no insect with a longer proboscis than the ordinary hawk-moth has been

[1] Sibree's *Great African Island*, p. 98.

discovered. But I noticed on very many of the specimens a species of ant, which fed upon the petals and spur of the flower, in some cases eating away a great part of the surface. As I have seen these ants making their way in and out of the orifice of the spur, I believe that the *A. sesquipedale* is fructified by ants, and not by any long-trunked insect.

Of all the many beautiful varieties of vegetable life in Madagascar none are more attractive, from their delicate perfume, and the purity of their colour, than the orchids, of which there is a great variety in the country. The flowers like wax shining out star-like amid a dense cluster of dark green leaves, perched in the forks of branches, or springing from the protruding roots of the smaller trees and bushes, present a picture not easily erased from the memory. The *Angræcum Ellisii*, brought to this country by Mr. Ellis, is still, and justly so too, a great favourite. Its large cluster of butterfly-like flowers, each with a spur seven or eight inches long, when in full bloom is a splendid sight. The *A. superbens*, to be met with in such profusion among the bushes on the coast, has a spur of flowers two feet long, and exhales a beautiful fragrance. Many of the orchids in the island are still unnamed, and only a few comparatively have found their way to England alive. I had the opportunity of seeing in Tamatave a splendid collection growing in the ground of a French collector, among which were thousands of specimens, of all sizes and of various colours: white, white and yellow, yellow, yellow striped with red, brown and gold, mauve and white, purple, &c., presenting as gorgeous a show of flowering beauty as it is possible to conceive.

From various parts of the forests very valuable wood

for building and cabinet-making is obtained. The rose-wood is found in the south-east; a species of ebony also is brought from the same locality. A wood resembling teak in some of its graining and mahogany in others, is the commonest wood used in the capital for floors, doors, windows, and heavy furniture, while the *nato* or *natte*, a red wood, from the bark of which the people obtain their red dye, is used for the same purposes on the east coast. A very hard and durable wood, called the *varonjy* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), is extensively used for posts, rafters, joists, &c., but possesses no particular beauty. A species of sandal-wood is found near the east coast, and is in request for cabinet-work. The grain is fair, and the scent, though strong and not disagreeable when first brought from the forest, soon loses a great deal of its fragrance by exposure. As the law at present exists, none of this valuable timber can be exported, or it would doubtless soon find its way into the English and other European markets.

But the most useful plants and trees to the native are those which furnish him with food, clothing, and medicine. Among the former are such trees as the bread-fruit, the tamarind, and varieties of the *Ficus* among the larger trees; while among smaller plants is to be found a great variety of food-yielding vegetation. The various arums cultivated in the swampy gardens near the rivers on the coast, and called *Saonjo mamy*, is apparently identical with the *taro* of the South Sea islands, and is very palatable and wholesome. A gigantic *arum* (*Arum colocasia ?*) grows in great abundance along the rivers in the east, but except in case of famine it is not used for human food, though the seeds

are always extensively used for feeding the pigs. A yam, the root of a creeping plant found throughout the forest region, is also used, and when boiled very much resembles a potato. The *mangahazo*, the manioc, forms an important article of vegetable food. It has been very extensively cultivated since the last rice famine, and although on the table-land it occupies the ground for a long period before coming to perfection (nearly ten times as long as on the coast), yet land is not of so much value as to be likely to enter into the calculation.

In some parts of the country, especially among the Sakalava and Ibara, a great deal of *Tacca pinnatifida* is cultivated, from which a kind of arrowroot is made, that is said to form the chief article of consumption among the western tribes. It is very insipid, but nourishing.

The sweet potato is cultivated in all parts of the country, and not only is the root cooked, and used as food, but, in common with those of the *mangahazo*, the leaves are boiled as a vegetable, to be eaten as a kind of curry to flavour the rice.

Several kinds of *anana*, or vegetables of which the leaves only are eaten, are cultivated in garden patches around the houses, the commonest being the *anamamy* (*Solanum nigrum*), which, belying its name (sweet vegetable), is extremely bitter, and to many who taste it for the first time very unpalatable.

The potato has been introduced into the interior, and grows prolifically and without disease, and with the expenditure of very little labour on the part of the people to secure a good crop. It is very much appreciated by the natives, who have brought considerable

tracts south of Imerina under this cultivation. In a peaty soil, the native simply has to turn over the clods in great masses, drop the seed potatoes in the centre of the reversed clod, and wait the result. When progressing towards maturity they are sought for by the owner, not by digging, and then selecting the fair-sized tubers and discarding the small ones, but by scratching away carefully the soil with a pointed stick, by which means he secures the largest harvest, as he removes the fully grown potatoes and allows the small ones to develop until the haulm is dead. On the road-sides between the chief towns in the interior are invariably to be found stalls for the sale of cooked potatoes as well as the *mangahazo* and sweet potato. If communication with the coast were more fully developed, there is no reason why potatoes and wheat should not become articles of considerable commercial importance. The latter is cultivated, but only to a very limited extent at present, yet sufficiently to demonstrate the capability of the soil to produce a good harvest.

But the chief article of food cultivated by the Malagasy is rice, of which there are several qualities found in the same districts, while other varieties have a limited cultivation. Some are planted like wheat, in a moist light soil, but without any irrigation, as in the forest clearings on the east, where, after burning down a portion of the forest, the rice is dropped into the soil thus manured with the ashes of the timber and brushwood. This is a hard, reddish-coloured rice, not held in much esteem by the inhabitants of the highlands. There the rice is invariably grown under water, and considerable ingenuity

is exhibited by the people in the formation of their rice-fields.

Around the capital the plain is level and low, and no very great amount of skill is required to keep the rice-fields constantly under water, by means of narrow channels or ditches leading from the river above the town and rejoining the river below. But in many places, notably in the Betsileo, a considerable amount of engineering talent is exhibited by the people. After having selected a spot as suitable for the formation of their rice plantation, they lead the water, by means of gullies cut in the sides of the mountains, for considerable distances—in some cases a mile or two from a spring situated sufficiently high to allow of the necessary fall. The ravines and deep valleys are crossed by roughly made aqueducts, formed by hollowing a tree and placing it across the chasm. In some broader valleys a number of these are necessary. In one place, by a series of these hollowed trunks, I have seen the water conducted a hundred or a hundred and twenty yards, the rough aqueduct being supported at the junctures by long posts driven into the ground in pairs, with a cross piece at the proper height lashed across them.

Having thus conducted the water, a series of terraces is made commencing as high up the valley, or even on the convex side of the hill, as the water will flow to readily. Each terrace is so constructed that the overflow of water shall fall into the terrace below. So that as many as a hundred or hundred and fifty of these rice terraces may be seen kept constantly full of water by a small stream which enters the top one and discharges itself eventually from the lowest.

The rice is sown in a patch, sheltered from the winds and near enough to the houses to be protected in part from the depredations of the birds; and after it has shot up to a height of about eight inches it is pulled up by the roots and transplanted into the larger rice plains or terraces. This is usually done by the women, who sing as they work, pushing into the soft mud one of the plants at each accented note. In some respects this is one of the pleasing sights of life in the interior of Madagascar, for it is a relief to see the people usually content to "let things slide," in earnest about some work; and no one who only saw the Malagasy women when at work in their rice fields would think them otherwise than overwhelmingly energetic. But there the charm ends, for working in soft mud and muddy water above the knees is no improvement to personal appearance, and the position assumed is anything but graceful.

Except the weeding, which is performed by the men once during their growth, no further care is taken of the rice plants than to see that the roots are constantly under water, until the time of harvest draws near. Then troops of small boys are stationed with slings and stones, to keep off the flocks of *fody* which infest the neighbourhood of the rice fields and prey upon the ripening grain. The *fody* is not the only enemy to the rice. I have known whole districts cleared of the rice by locusts, and in the earlier stages of its growth by rats.

At harvest time all the village turns out to reap each man's plot, as the women did to transplant. The rice is cut with knives near the foot, and carried to the threshing-floor and stacked in long low stacks. After

this it is threshed by the men taking a handful in each hand, by the end nearest the root, and striking the ears on a stone placed in the centre of the threshing-floor. The winnowing is performed by simply holding a basketful of the newly threshed rice as high as possible and pouring it out gently, allowing the wind to carry away the chaff. It is then stored in the various ways peculiar to the different tribes. In Imerina and Betsileo it is placed in pits dug in the hard red soil and lined with mats. In the Bara and Tanala and coast tribes it is stored in small houses mounted on poles four or five feet from the ground, and protected from the ravages of the rats by a wooden hood at the top of each post, over which the rats cannot pass.

There is no reason why rice should not become a much more important article of commerce than it has been. Some little quantity has every year been exported to Mauritius and Bourbon; but with the capabilities of the country, especially in the swampy lowlands of the coast plain, there is room for an almost unlimited supply. No foreigner has, however, turned his attention to this branch of agriculture, but all the rice brought into the ports has been of purely native production, and hence grown on a small scale. The land suitable could be procured at very little cost, and no considerable capital would be required further than that necessary to pay wages, and I am convinced a large return would be the result of fairly good management. It has been objected that the rice is small and broken; but this is simply the result of the primitive mode of removing the husk, which is done by merely placing the well-dried rice in a wooden mortar and pounding it with wooden pestles until the grain is free

of husk. But notwithstanding this rough and ready plan, there are qualities of rice which, in point of size and purity of colour, compare favourably with the highly esteemed South Carolina rice.

The vegetable production which has for the longest period occupied the attention of foreign capitalists as an article of commerce is coffee. Great hopes were entertained by planters that a large return would be the result of money laid out in the purchase and propagation of this plant. Large tracts along the coast were planted, notably around Mananjara, south of Tamatave, at Mahela, Mahanoro and elsewhere: considerable sums of money were invested in this industry, and for a few years all went well. But trouble soon came. At Mananjara, whole plantations were swept to the ground by the cyclones of 1868–72, and in other places it was discovered, when too late, that the soil was too damp for the continual productiveness of the coffee plant. For a certain number of years the tree grew and bore well, but after the tap root had penetrated to a certain depth, the leaves and fruit rotted off the branches, and the tree died. Hence all the coffee estates on the coast and near it are abandoned, and their promoters have in many cases been ruined.

But in the interior, especially along the rocky sides of the central plateau, the plant succeeds well, attains a great size, and bears both freely and of good quality. There is, however, very little more grown than is required for the home consumption. Only small parcels find their way to Europe, and that under a false name. It finds, however, ready sale at good prices, and is highly esteemed for its flavour.

This is another industry which only awaits a more

ready communication with the coast from the interior to command a much greater attention than has hitherto been given to it. I have seen trees in the uplands covered with berries, and producing a splendid harvest for the people, without any particular care having been taken with them, and despite the unscientific manner in which the natives treated them.

Spices of various kinds have been tried as an article of commercial produce along the east coast, and as far as the venture has gone I believe it has been a success. Cloves and cinnamon flourish in the hot climate and damp soil of the low plain, and pepper would doubtless be still more profitable, as the wild pepper of the forests produces abundantly, and the berries have become an article of trade in all the markets in the interior, under the name *voamperifery*. It is the *Peperonica Lyallii*.

Among the fibres which are produced abundantly by the natives for their own use, and which might become articles of export, if the cultivation were taken in hand by European enterprise, may be mentioned:—*cotton*; a species of flax; the fibre of the hemp, *Cannabis sativa*; the barks of certain forest trees, as the species of *Astrapeia*, from which the natives make string and even weave cloth; and the fibres of the banana, also used by the people for cloth-making. Silk is also grown in large quantities in the southern part of the table-land; the plant upon which the insect feeds being grown in patches, covering acres of land in the large plain around Ambohimandroso.

But the vegetable production upon which the greatest amount of skill has been bestowed by the foreigner in Madagascar, and upon the development of which the greatest amount of money has been expended, is the

sugar-cane. The soil and humid climate of the coast seem admirably suited to its cultivation, and without any large amount of high farming or especial care the cane, though not attaining the size seen in imagination by a certain newspaper correspondent, who describes it as "thirty feet in height," yet reaches to a height of twelve or eighteen feet and large in girth. It is full of juice, but contains a large proportion of water as compared with the product of the same species of cane raised in the drier atmosphere of Mauritius. But, notwithstanding the low percentage of saccharine matter in the expressed juice, so prolific is the growth of the cane, that the extra time and expense involved in the evaporating processes are fully compensated for by the large yield of sugar compared with the trouble and expense of growth.

In the interior the juice is expressed between a couple of roughly-made rollers of wood fixed in two upright posts, and turned by hand. The canes are inserted between the rollers, which are fixed so near to each other as to squeeze the cane quite dry, and the juice is caught in a wooden trough below. Some of this juice is fermented and made into a native drink, called *betsabetsa*, or distilled after the fermentation and made into a spirit called *toaka*, which is now unfortunately the chief product of the sugar-cane in Imerina. This coarse spirit (flavoured with aniseed) is sold in most of the markets in the interior of the country, and produces sad havoc among the young and ignorant, and causes one of the great troubles of the missionaries and pastors in the conduct of Church affairs. A small quantity of the juice comparatively is boiled for sugar. This is of the coarsest kind, the juice being simply boiled till it

THE PITCHER PLANT.

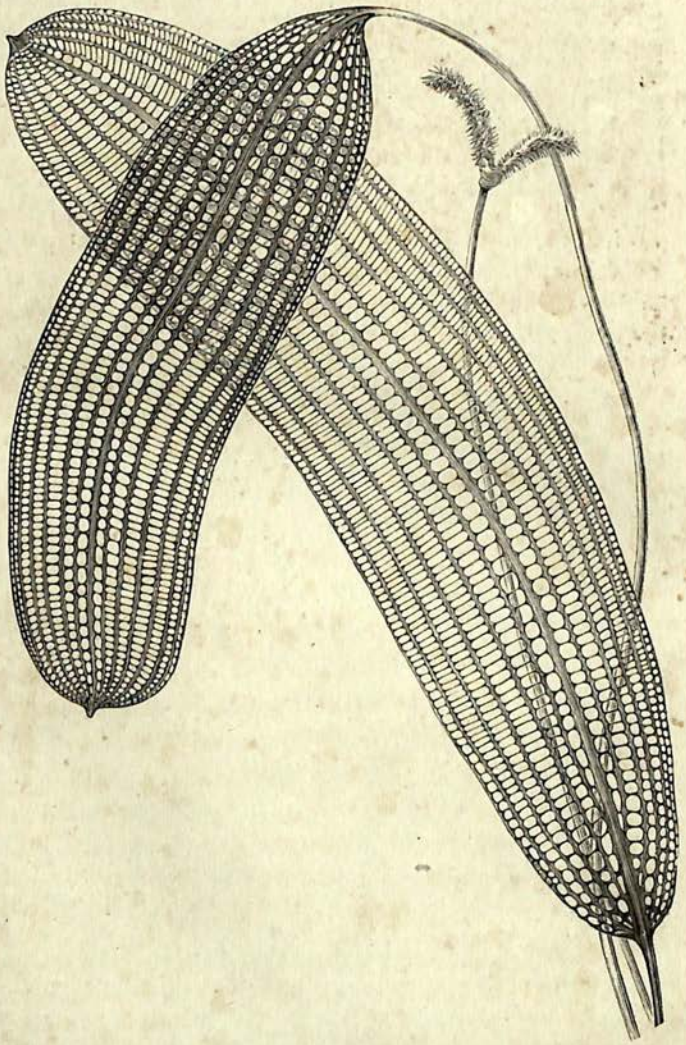
is thick enough to harden on cooling into a cake, and in that form it is sold. When required for use, a little is scraped into a suitable vessel.

On the coast, sugar-mills after the pattern of those at work in Mauritius and Bourbon have been erected. British subjects owned four of the five mills planted near Tamatave, three of which were worked by steam and one by bullocks. In these, and notably in the largest—that of Messrs. Wilson and Co. at Melville, ten miles west of Tamatave—machinery of the most approved kind and of the newest type was to be found. Crushing machines, with their immense grooved rollers, stood ready to receive the cane as it came in from the field. Large cup-shaped boilers received the liquid conveyed to them through troughs communicating with the reservoir below the rollers. Then after being boiled, passed through refrigerators, and evaporated in a vacuum-pan, it was left to crystallise, after which the crystals were separated from the syrup in turbines. The syrup was again passed through the various processes, and a lower class of sugar obtained.

In this way large quantities of sugar of a good quality were annually exported to Mauritius and Natal, and the prospects of the planters were bright and alluring. Each and all were looking forward to not only covering by the harvest of 1883 the great outlay caused by the establishing of such large concerns, but also to the netting of a considerable balance. As it is, however, the outbreak of hostilities has prevented the cutting of the canes, which were just ripe for the sugar-mill, and the merchants and planters have had the chagrin of seeing their harvest rotting on the land, and the mills being ruined by inability to protect them.

Madagascar is well supplied with fruit, some indigenous to the country, and other kinds introduced and flourishing. Among the former the banana holds the first place. It is universal and very plentiful, of many varieties, but all good. Because of its sustaining and satisfying qualities it is an excellent article of food. The lemon and lime, the rose-apple and guava, also abound. The orange, one of the introduced fruits, has become at Tamatave an article of commerce; while the vine, when properly cared for, furnishes two splendid crops of grapes in the year, one in December and the other in June. Beside these may be mentioned the citron, melon, pine-apple, *loquat*, *li-chi*, *avocat* (the alligator pear), custard-apple, mango, peach, mulberry, pomegranate, and quince. Figs in great quantities, but of poor quality, grow in many parts of the forest and on the upper plateau.

Among the curiosities of the plant life on the east coast should be mentioned the three most notable. The sensitive plant, growing in abundance about one hundred miles south of Tamatave, is a conspicuous object, with its delicate flowers resembling tufts of pink threads, and its highly sensitive leaves and leaf-stalks. When touched, the leaves immediately fold themselves up, and then the leaf-stalk falls, almost hiding the leaves under the branches of the plant. The pitcher-plant also grows in the marshes along the east coast, but generally out of sight among the rushes and sedges at the water-side. At the end of each leaf, which narrows to a mere stalk at the tip, it carries a vase-like excrescence, very much resembling a pitcher, with lid and all complete. This pitcher seems provided for the purpose of keeping the leaves well supplied with moisture, as I



THE LACE-LEAF PLANT.

have frequently found them with a considerable quantity of water in these receptacles.

The lace-leaf plant, the other curious plant to which reference is made, has frequently been described. In the rivers west of Tamatave great quantities of this fresh-water yam may be seen sending its two-forked flower just above the eddying of the water, in which it bobs backwards and forwards in a fantastic dance. The root is edible, but the interest of the plant centres in its leaves, which are about eight to fourteen inches long, and resemble a square-patterned lace, or a skeleton leaf with parallel veining, the whole space between being empty. These are supported on stalks two feet or three feet long, just sufficient to raise the leaf to the level of the water. For many years it was thought to be confined to Madagascar; but since the time that Mr. Ellis first made the scientific world acquainted with the strange *Ouvirandra fenestralis*, it has been discovered that plants somewhat similar have been growing in other parts of the world.

I have not attempted to give anything but a cursory glance at the vegetation of an island which is full of interest to the botanist, and to point out a few of its features, leaving open the vast field, which can only be properly treated in a work devoted to that science alone.

APPENDIX.

METEOROLOGY.

As this is a subject closely connected with the capabilities of a country for agricultural and commercial development, it may be interesting to give the results of one year's regular registration at Tamatave in latitude 18° 10′ S. and 49° 27′ E. longitude. The observations were taken 15 feet above the level of high water, and at a considerable distance from any other habitations.

The instruments used for the observations are all by Cassella, and were mounted according to the instructions of the Meteorological Society of London. The maximum and minimum thermometers, with the hygrometer, were mounted four feet above the grass in a Stevenson stand, to which the wind from every quarter had free access. Hence the readings are in all cases considerably below what they would have been in the ordinary shade of a verandah or house. The direct heat of the sun was measured by an insulated thermometer placed on a stand four feet from the ground. This thermometer being inserted in an outer shield, and in a nearly complete vacuum, the maximum direct heat of the sun can be registered unaffected by humidity and wind. It is, however, incorrect to imagine that it registers the maximum heat of the sun's rays at any given time, but rather the accumulative heat during the hottest part of the day. For the outer case of clear glass is a conductor for the *bright* heat of the sun's rays, but a non-conductor of the *dull* heat, thus confined in the ball in the centre of which is the blackened bulb of the thermometer. The mouth of the rain-gauge, which is placed perfectly perpendicular in an open space, was one foot from the ground. The amount of cloud (from clear sky 0 to complete overcast 10) was estimated at each time of observation. The wind also (from 0 to 12) was estimated in the same way. The barometer used was an aneroid. The observations have been registered at 9 o'clock A.M. and at 3 P.M.

In one or two respects, noted below, the weather of 1881-2

was exceptional. During the summer from October to February the northerly wind was but seldom felt at Tamatave; variable winds, frequently with a south-westerly direction, taking the place of the usual north-east wind. The winter months are generally spoken of as the wet season on the coast, and the summer as the dry season. But in June 1882, only 8·52 inches of rain fell, against 15·5 inches in June 1881. There was a fall of 2·19 inches in May 1882, while in May 1881 there fell 9·76 inches. With these exceptions the year chosen may be considered a typical one in meteorology. The total amount of rainfall for the year was 94·94 inches. The greatest fall in any 24 hours took place on June 29th, when 5·06 inches were registered.

The number of days on which rain fell, and the total amount for each month, were distributed through the year as follows:

	Days in which rain fell.	Inches.
In October. . . .	17	4·18
„ November . . .	13	5·20
„ December . . .	17	6·33
„ January . . .	19	13·02
„ February . . .	18	11·62
„ March	22	6·46
„ April	23	11·35
„ May	16	2·19
„ June	19	8·52
„ July	28	13·45
„ August	20	7·41
„ September . . .	14	5·21

The general direction of the wind was southerly. During 306 days it blew between east, round by south, to the west; and during the remaining 59 days it had a direction between east, round by north, to west. There was no hurricane on the coast during the year, though considerable fear was felt on Feb. 26th, when the barometer fell from 30° in the morning at 9 o'clock to 29·81 by 12 o'clock, noon, rising to 29·90 on February 27th, and falling to 29·80 by 3 o'clock, and on the following day from 29·91 to 29·81. On March 3rd it again became steady at a little above 30. This was the greatest atmospheric disturbance we had during the year. The wind at the time was strong from south and south-east to south.

The greatest amount of heat registered by the insulated solar radiation thermometer was on December 22nd, when it stood at

163°. The highest temperature in the shade in a good current of air was 93°, which it attained on December 24th, January 15th and 25th. The lowest temperature during the night was 58° on June 28th, and July 9th and 10th.

The following tables give the *average daily* register of the various instruments for each month at the times of observation.

AT 9 O'CLOCK A.M.

Date.	Barometer.	Thermometer.		Amount of Cloud.	Force of Wind.	Rainfall in Inches.
		Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.			
October	30·288	76	68·3	3·1	2·3	·139
November . . .	30·158	79·5	73·5	4·4	3·2	·173
December . . .	30·2	82·6	77·7	3·5	2·1	·204
January	30·114	84·08	76·7	4·3	2·6	·434
February . . .	30·05	82·2	76·8	5	3·5	·415
March	30·09	80	75	4	4	·208
April	30·186	78·4	74·3	4	3	·378
May	30·23	78	76	4	2·8	·07
June	30·376	71·8	68·9	5·4	3·5	·284
July	30·23	69·9	67·8	4·7	2·4	·448
August	30·40	71·5	67·8	4	3	·240
September . . .	30·35	74	69	3	7	·18

AT 3 O'CLOCK P.M.

Date.	Barometer.	Thermometer.		Amount of Cloud.	Force of Wind.	Maximum in shade.	Minimum in shade.	Maximum in sun.
		Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.					
October .	30·259	79·3	70·9	2·4	3	79·9	62·4	140·4
November	30·095	80·5	72·8	3·3	3·8	81·4	68·1	140·2
December	30·06	82·4	74·9	3·2	2·8	85·2	66·4	141·4
January .	30·041	84·2	78·2	4·3	3·4	88·8	70·9	143·9
February	30·01	83	77·5	4	3·9	86	71·8	145
March .	30·03	81	76	5	4	85	69	143
April . .	30·091	80	76	4	3	83	68	145
May . .	30·18	79	72	3·3	3·3	82	64	137
June . .	30·33	74·3	70·3	5·2	4·1	77·75	61·5	131·1
July . .	30·386	72·8	70·7	3·8	3·8	75·9	60·9	129·4
August .	30·365	74·3	69·1	3·9	4·6	75·6	61·3	132·8
September	30·30	75	70	3	4	78	62	135

In the interior of the country the readings are very much lower in every particular, except, perhaps, in the amount of cloud. The land being elevated 3000 or 4000 feet above the sea, so far tempers the climate, that, although within the tropics, the heat is not much greater than in countries in the lower temperate zones; and although ice and snow are never seen, and hoar frost only occasionally, yet the climate in the winter months may be said to be cold. The dry and cold season commences generally in April, and continues till the middle or end of November. During this time very little rain falls, but the air nearly every morning is charged with a thick, penetrating mist. However, occasionally in July and August the prevailing south-east wind suddenly changes to a westerly wind, which blows up a dense blue mist, hot and stifling, enervating and unhealthy. This is usually followed by a thunderstorm, when the wind reverts to its old quarter, the south-east, piercing and damp.

The wet season is heralded by one or two months' dry mist in the afternoons, entirely obscuring the distant hills, and completely changing the usual character of the atmosphere, which is generally so transparent that hills and trees at great distances can be seen with the greatest distinctness. "This is the time of year when the air contains the least amount of moisture. At this period the ground becomes parched, the grass is scorched up, and almost everything, except shrubs and trees with deep roots, withers and dies. Sickness also is prevalent, and chest complaints often abound." About six weeks before the rainy season really sets in, there occurs frequently a week of rains, which the natives call the "*leader of the rains*," or "*the former rain*," after which the weather remains calm and dry until the rainy season commences.

The months from November to April are looked upon as the rainy season, during which time, after a morning bright and hot, but saturated with moisture, the clouds very suddenly collect about two o'clock, and the rain commences at half-past, or three, continuing far into the night. But although in the centre of an island, nearly the whole of which is within the tropics, it is a fallacy to suppose that the rains are very great in aggregate quantity. It certainly rains occasionally very much harder than is usual in temperate climates; but the total rainfall is not so great as that registered in some parts of

England. The average number of days on which any rain falls appears to be between 100 and 110 days, and the amount precipitated to average 50 or 52 inches; while in some western parts of England, among the hills, the annual rainfall amounts to 80 or 100 inches. The difference between the high register of rain on the coast, 94 or 95 inches, and the small amount on the table-land, is accounted for by the fact that the clouds and moisture being driven up from the sea, become condensed in passing over the forest belt on the slopes of the plateau, and are precipitated before reaching the treeless plains of the interior. The rainfall is distributed through the year as follows:—

Date.	Number of days on which rain fell.	Amount of rainfall.
October, 1882	4	1·72 inches
November ,, ...	11	7·60 ,,
December ,, ...	15	7·09 ,,
January, 1883	30	16·86 ,,
February ,, ...	16	7·12 ,,
March ,, ...	19	9·04 ,,
April ,, ...	4	·88 ,,
May ,, ...	4	1·59 ,,
June ,, ...	1	·33 ,,
July ,, ...	5	·21 ,,
August ,, ...	1	·07 ,,
Totals	110	52·51 ,,

Hailstorms of considerable violence occur, doing great damage to the growing crops; and occasionally the hailstones are so large as to be positively dangerous to life. Sometimes the rainy season is ushered in by a high wind, accompanied by a hailstorm, not unfrequently completely destroying the rice and sugar-cane in the district in which it occurs.

During the rainy season waterspouts are not uncommon in and around Imerina; and in the capital one or two of the cannon in the battery at Andohalo are kept loaded, in order to break any waterspout suddenly rising from the vast expanse of water in the river, lakes, and rice plains in the valley below the city, by the concussion in the air caused by the discharge.

It is no uncommon thing for whirlwinds and waterspouts to pass over a village, completely destroying it, and seriously injuring the inhabitants.

Fortunately, hurricanes are not of frequent occurrence in Madagascar. I have experienced but one during sixteen years' residence. When they do occur they take the character of the cyclones so dreaded in the neighbourhood of Mauritius, travelling in a certain direction, but having a rapid circular motion at the same time. Houses, chapels, trees, growing crops, are all swept clean from the course of these storms; and much loss of life from exposure, as well as from falling houses, is the result. But every rainy season we are subject to terribly fierce winds, preceding the violent thunderstorms, accompanied by hail or rain. "These heavy blasts of wind are never of long duration, seldom lasting longer than ten minutes; but while they continue they seem as if they would carry everything before them. Occasionally they disperse the threatened rain altogether; but often they are accompanied and followed by a heavy downpour, deluging the town with water, while there is scarcely a house whose roof does not leak more or less. It is a grand sight to watch the approach of these storms. In front of them there is a long horizontal roll of dark cloud, followed by a smooth, bluish-black background. The lightning darts about with dazzling brightness, followed by long peals of rolling and crackling thunder. As the storm advances, the long roll of cloud changes its shape, while tattered shreds are torn away and scattered abroad in fleecy fragments. It advances with steady and rapid speed, and, as it reaches the town, lays hold of the thatch of the houses, lifts it up or tears it off, threatening destruction to everything in its way, while the heavy roll of the thunder is deadened by the fierce blasts of the wind and the roar of the rain, like the 'noise of rushing waters.' While it lasts it is fearful: fortunately, a few minutes suffice, and as a rule it is confined to a very small area, passing over one end of the town, and probably leaving the other end entirely untouched." These sudden and local storms are most probably caused by the rapid cooling of the air, after a hot morning, by the sudden fall of rain or hail; and as it cools it rushes forward towards the warmer and lighter air beyond at a fearful rate, carrying destruction with it.

Notwithstanding the volcanic structure of the island, it is not

subject to many or very violent earthquakes. I have felt but two or three very faint shocks—almost too faint to be perceptible. Last year a more severe shock than usual shook the capital, and, strangely enough, occurred at 2 A.M., on the morning of the Queen's death, July 13th, 1883, thus helping to confirm the old superstitious belief of the people, that some extraordinary phenomenon is sure to occur before the death of the sovereign.

Fogs and dense mists only occur in the sheltered and well-watered valleys and plains on the plateau, and even then only after a warm day and clear night, immediately succeeding the rainy season. It is one of the finest sights to stand on the summit of one of the high hills in the interior, early some morning in April or May, and look around upon the dense white carpet of mist below, with here and there the upper parts of the higher hills pushing their way through, looking like small islands in a sea of fleecy whiteness. As the wind rises, this mass of cloud and mist gradually creeps higher and higher, leaving the landscape clear and sharply defined in the pure morning sunlight.

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